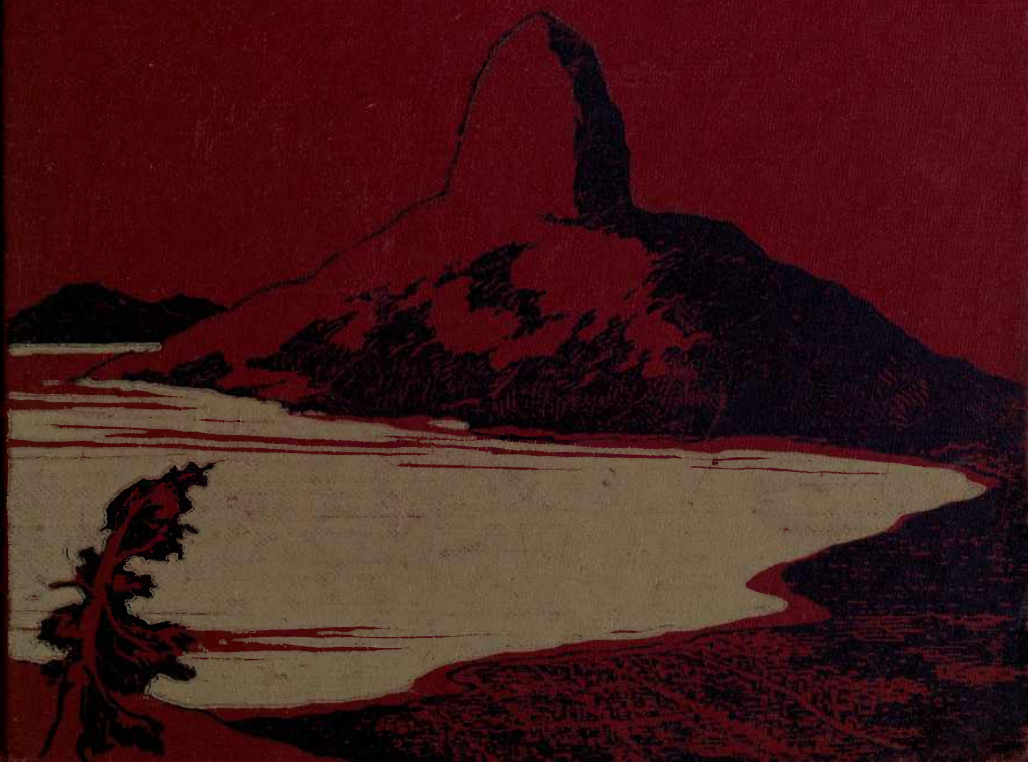


LATIN AMERICA

ITS HISTORY AND CULTURE



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James Sawdara

Francisco Pizarro, in full Spanish armor, as he may have looked to the startled Indians in Peru. This monument stands in Lima

LATIN AMERICA



ITS HISTORY AND CULTURE

*By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of American History,
The University of Chicago*

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PREFACE

In the preparation of this text we have become indebted to many individuals. We shall not attempt to name all of them here, but we must mention some who have been especially helpful. Dr. Max L. Basemann has given advice on Portuguese pronunciation. Dr. Sidney E. Ekblaw has made useful suggestions on Latin American geography. Mr. Clarence Senior has assisted with the section on Indian civilization at the time of the Conquest. Dr. Ella P. Levett has helped with the maps and illustrations. Many experienced teachers have contributed practical advice. Various publishers have kindly permitted us to use the quotations that appear in the narrative. But we must assume responsibility for both the defects and the merits of the volume. We hope it may prove interesting and useful as well as accurate. The fact that the senior author's name appears first on the title page should not be accorded much significance. The junior author has done more than his share of the work.

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ITS HISTORY
AND CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

You are about to embark upon a voyage of discovery and exploration. Though our neighbors to the south have been there many centuries, we are just now discovering them. We are made more aware of them day by day, as we hear Latin American music, enjoy Latin American art exhibits, see the people and their leaders in our movies, read about them in our newspapers and magazines, and observe the growing enrollment in Spanish classes.

This is one gain for which we can thank the European war. Now, war or no war, we realize that after all we are neighbors living together in these two continents. Long ago, through our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, we took the responsibility of keeping the rest of the world out of the lands to the south, but we did not immediately try to become better acquainted, as neighbors should, nor did we examine ourselves to see if we were the right kind of neighbor. More recently the radio and airplane have so reduced distances that we can no longer go smugly on our own way. And, after all, why should we? They and we wish to live free, healthy, happy lives. We both should like to help rid our world of injustice, oppression, poverty, and needless wars. Since we have these common desires, we can go farther toward attaining them by co-operation than we can by working individually in ignorance of what the other fellow is doing.

But have you ever before tried to co-operate with someone who was brought up in a different land and spoke a different language from your own? It is not easy. First, we must banish from our heads the notion that everything we have and do is superior to what our neighbors have and do. We must study their language, their background, and their way of living, with the expectation that we shall learn from them as well as they from us. If at first we think our neighbors a little queer in some respects, we must be aware that they too are likely to think us queer. In such a situation we have to recognize first and foremost that there are reasons back of everything. It is our purpose, then, to seek out those reasons. Many of them

have their roots far back in their history and ours. Thus the most promising starting place for us, if we are to understand them, is in the study of their history.

The history of Latin America is interesting because it is strange and romantic; but it is not easy. It deals with places and people whose unfamiliar names are hard to pronounce and to remember. It carries us back a century earlier than our own beginnings at Jamestown and Plymouth. It takes us into a great variety of conditions, ranging from tropical lowlands to arid mountain plateaus, from primitive Indian villages to progressive modern cities. Moreover, it is divided into the histories of twenty separate republics, each with its own story and problems.

There are a few explanations that should precede our study. First we need to know that the term Latin America refers to all those regions in which the civilization has been influenced by Latin backgrounds in Europe. Since Spain and Portugal, as well as Italy and France, are Latin countries, those parts of America once occupied by Spain, France, and Portugal are now Latin America. That once included our own Southwest; and it now includes the West Indies, Mexico, and Central and South America. In that area the only territory of any size that is not a part of Latin America is British and Dutch Guiana and the island of Jamaica. Thus Latin America is a broad term, covering nearly all the lands to the south and including even the recent Italian immigrants in Argentina. Although this term is not favored by some of our southern neighbors, because they do not think of themselves as being Latin, it is the popular term in the United States and thus is used throughout this textbook.

The name Hispanic America, which is preferred by many of the people south of us, is not quite so inclusive. It refers to those lands once held by the Hispanic nations of Europe, Spain and Portugal. The name is big enough to cover all the territory in Latin America except the parts where French and Italian influence prevails; it stresses the Hispanic influence common to the whole region. This term is now beginning to be used con-

siderably in the United States. Sometimes the name Ibero America is also used, and it means the same as Hispanic America. Ibero refers to the Iberian peninsula on which Spain and Portugal are located.

Spanish America is often used, too. It includes only those regions in America once developed by Spain. Thus because it omits Haiti and Portuguese Brazil it is more narrow than the other names. Pan America, on the other hand, is most inclusive. It means "all America," and thus takes in the United States and Canada, though as yet Canada has not become a member of the Pan American Union.

Three other terms that are frequently used are Central America, Middle America, and the Caribbean area. Central America is that narrow part of the mainland starting south of Mexico and extending to the Isthmus of Panama. Middle America includes Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies. The territory covered is really a part of North America, but we seldom think of it in that way. It seemed desirable to have a title for the entire area between South America and our southern border and since the name Central America was already taken, the term Middle America has come into use. The Caribbean area is larger than Middle America and partly overlaps that region. It includes all those lands bordering on the Caribbean Sea, which you may see by your map are Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, and most of the islands of the West Indies, many of which are not Latin but colonies of England, France, or other European nations.

Altogether the area we are to study is a large one. It extends seven thousand miles north and south, and at the widest part, three thousand five hundred miles east and west. The land area is over eight million square miles, which is about three times the size of the United States. The total population is approximately one hundred thirty million, only a little less than the number of people in our own country.

Now that we know where we are going, we should think for a moment how we are to make our approach. First look over the outline of our units of study in the table of contents. We

start with a get-acquainted tour of Latin America. The things we see will raise many questions, and to answer some of them we shall study more closely the twenty modern nations. To answer others we shall next go back, back in time to the days before Columbus. We shall learn who was living there then, and how they lived. Next, in order to add necessary background, we must live again with the Hispanic conquerors, with the men who won independence, and with the great dictators of the past century. Finally we shall be ready to study the recent progress and problems in the modern nations and to review our relations with them. As we proceed from one unit to the next, you will find many things to do, write, draw, or tell, according to your own interest and talent. Select those activities that you believe will most help you and the others in the class to solve the problems before you.

It will be necessary to outline the facts, yes, and concentrate on them, for only in that way can strange names and faraway events be impressed on our minds. But above all consider this as more than a study of facts. Put your feet in the other fellow's shoes, travel the roads he traveled, and think as he did. See how one event led to another, and how the whole course of events shaped up like, or often unlike, the course followed by our own pioneer forefathers. This done, we shall be a step nearer to an appreciation of the deeds, problems, and desires of the Latin Americans. We shall be better prepared to live up to our ambition to be an understanding neighbor.

FIRST UNIT

BY SHIP AND PLANE AND TRAIN

It is but a step across the border from Florida into Cuba, and from our southwestern states into Mexico. That step takes us into strange foreign countries. We are then in Latin America, land where live side by side Indians, Negroes, and descendants of the conquerors. The visitor is entranced by the beauty of the cities, by the old houses, churches, and public buildings, by the bustling market places, and by the primitive life in village and country.

We want to venture farther and see more, and we shall do so. With books for our wings and curiosity as our passport, we shall go on a get-acquainted tour. As we read about Latin America and allow our imagination to carry us from country to country, we are fortunate in that we shall have some help from a friend, Robert Eden. His uncle, a veteran traveler, is taking him on a tour of Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and South America.

Robert appreciates that we are not all so fortunate. Consequently, from time to time he will write us letters describing his experiences. He and his uncle, Adrian Eden, are now in Miami, Florida, preparing for their departure. Soon we shall have glimpses of the lands to the south through the eyes of our traveling classmate.

IN THE WEST INDIES

At our Hotel
Miami, Florida

Dear Friends,

If all our trip goes as pleasantly as it has so far, I am sure I shall like it. Uncle Adrian says, "Just wait until you get seasick!" But I say I am not going to be sick.



ROBERT'S TOUR

----- Ship

----- Railroad

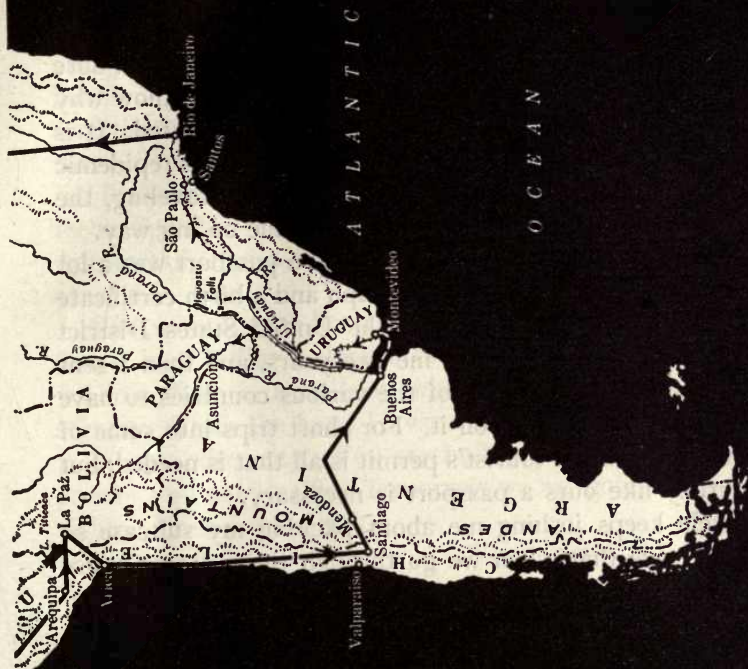
----- Airplane

Miles

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Kilometres

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I have been packing my luggage and looking to see that I have everything: camera, raincoat, passport, extra clothes, guidebook, notebook, ticket, vaccination certificate, and the Spanish dictionary you all chipped in to give me. I am sure it will be a most useful gift. You will be curious to know why I am taking a certificate saying I have been vaccinated. It is not needed to get into many countries, but if an epidemic should break out in a country in which we are traveling, the certificate would help me to leave and continue on my way.

To get the precious little booklet called a passport was a lot of trouble. I had to submit a photograph and a birth certificate and take with me to the clerk of the United States District Court a friend who had known me two years, and then I sent the booklet around to consuls of the various countries to have them put their visé stamps on it. For short trips into some of the countries a simpler tourist's permit is all that is needed, but for a journey like ours a passport is necessary.

My uncle keeps joshing me about packing my suitcase so neatly. He says that when we go through the customs house the inspector will ransack it to see that I am not carrying firearms or smuggling liquor, jewelry, or excess personal supplies into Cuba. Imagine me, Robert Eden, a suspected international smuggler!

Good-by, and more soon,
Robert



At our Hotel
Havana, Cuba

Dear Classmates,

Yes, we are in Havana. The trip was no trick at all, and I did not get seasick. We were at sea only a few hours before we could see land to the south. Soon we could tell there was a city on the hillsides ahead, and above it all something golden shimmered in the sun. Uncle Adrian told me what it was—the golden dome of the big capitol building; for, as you know, Havana is the capital of Cuba.

Our steamer docked at a long pier much like the piers at New York, only I soon noticed a difference. I thought all Latin Americans were Spanish, but I see there are also Negroes and part Negroes, at least in Cuba. Another difference is the loud babble in a foreign language. The natives talk so fast and lively sometimes—out of all proportion to the slowness of their actions. This strange palaver gave me a cold chill at first, for I suddenly realized that I was in a foreign country and that my feeble Spanish would not do me much good. But hearing Uncle Adrian talk like a native to the baggage man gave me fresh courage.

Now we are at the hotel, and what a pleasant place it is! Tile floors, high ceilings, electric fans, and ice water. Outside the window there is a balcony where we can sit and enjoy the scenery. From the hotel Havana does not look much different from any other city. You see buildings, electric signs, paved streets, and auto traffic. Tomorrow we are going out to see the sights. I can hardly wait.

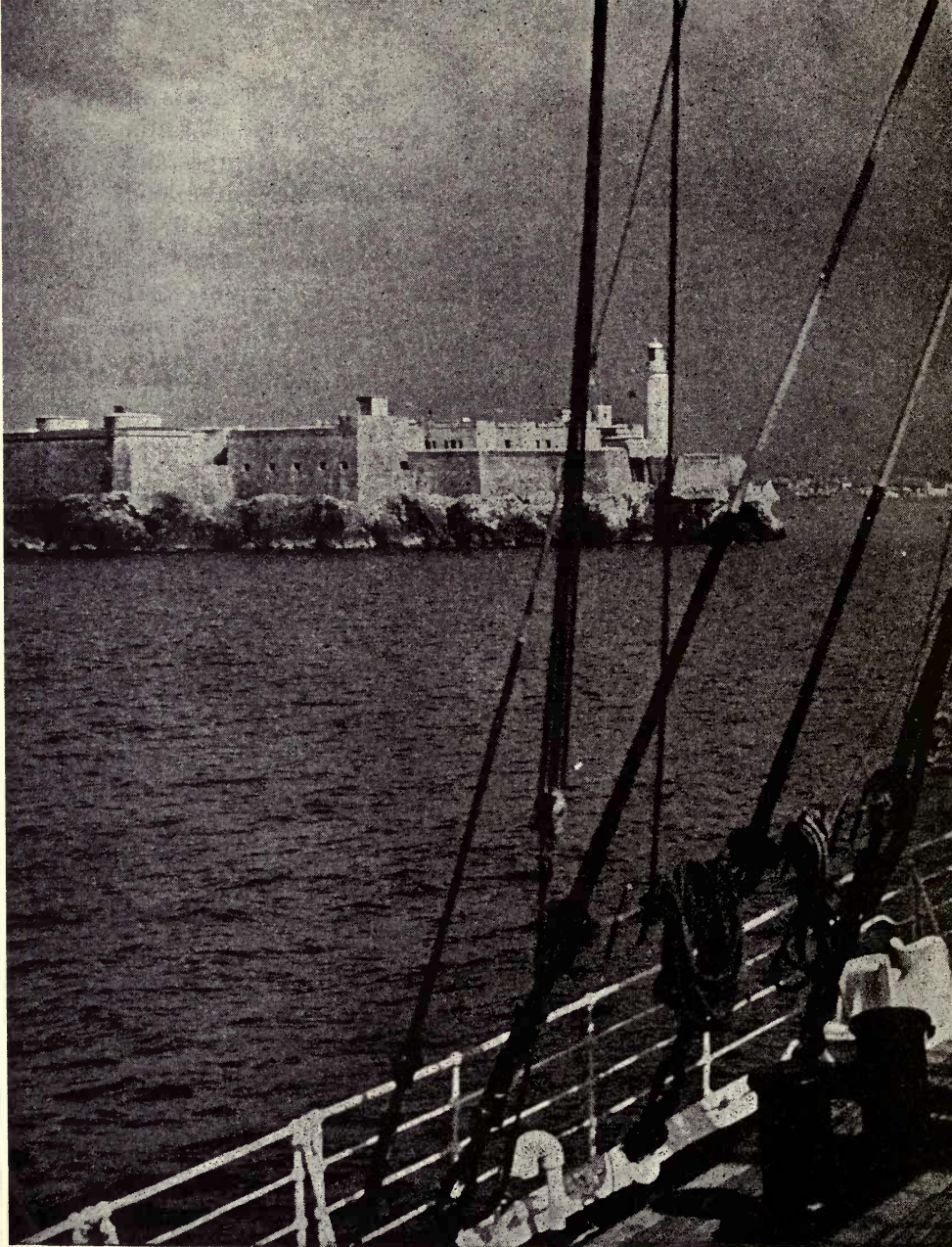
Your friend,
Bob



Havana
The next day

My dear Norteamericanos,

There is so much to write now that I don't know where to begin. My biggest letdown was when I tried my Spanish on one of the clerks at the hotel this morning. While Uncle Adrian listened with a twinkle in his eyes, I asked the man if Havana had many American tourists. He waited until I had struggled through the question and then to my astonishment answered in very good English that Cuba did have many American tourists, some of them prominent people. Since then I have noticed that many Cubans speak English and know a great deal about what is going on in our country. After my conversation with the hotel man Uncle warned me that I should not say American when I mean United States. These people, he said, are proud



As the traveler approaches Havana, Cuba, by boat



H. Armstrong Roberts

he sees at his left the ruins of the famous Morro Castle

Americans, too, and they call us *norteamericanos* (North Americans).

After we landed yesterday I was surprised to see so many Negroes. But today I noticed that there are many more whites than I thought at first. I looked up the census figures and found that more than half the population is white. I noticed, too, that there are many Americans here—pardon me, *North* Americans. Also many familiar autos, made in the United States.

We first took a taxi ride through the narrow streets of what is called the "old city," which is the part down by the water front. We saw the tall two-column monument built by the Cubans in memory of the blowing up of the *Maine*, which helped draw us into the war between Cuba and Spain. We also went out to old Morro Castle, which is most fascinating. It is high on a point overlooking the bay, and to enter it we had to cross a drawbridge over a moat, like those of medieval castles. The guide pointed out an old treasure storeroom with bullet-scarred walls, in which prisoners' bones had been found. The castle is very old; I believe the guide said it dated from 1597. Long ago, when Cubans were pestered by pirates, they used to fasten a big wooden chain at night from that castle to another one across the harbor. The idea was to keep the pirates from sneaking in to raid the town after dark.

Part of the day we spent in the "new city," which is the part built on higher ground above the site of an old wall that once surrounded the old city. The new city is the "swell" part. It has beautiful boulevards shaded with palms and other tropical trees and lined with exclusive clubhouses and beautiful homes. One avenue, El Prado, I'll remember because of its many fountains and monuments. This section of the city is where the people have their holiday processions and their society promenades. I'll always remember, too, La Plaza de la Fraternidad, a very beautiful park near the new capitol in the heart of the city. Here were all kinds of tropical trees and flowers and, encircled by a fence, was the Fraternity Tree. This is the independence tree of the Cubans. They also call it their Pan American fraternity tree.

The people here dress mostly in white. They are very gay and are nice to us. I should like to visit some of them in their homes. Most of the houses are built out to the sidewalk, like apartment buildings, and have two or three stories. Instead of lawns in front they have beautiful gardens in inside courts away from the street. Once in a while I could get a glimpse into a court, or patio, by looking through the iron-grill gate on a driveway. Sometimes I could see that the front door and hallway led to such a patio located in the center of the house, which was somewhat like our hotel lobby.

Tonight we are taking a train to Santiago, wherever that is. I am in a hurry and must say

Adiós,

Robert



Santiago, Cuba

Hello Friends,

That was a long train ride from Havana to Santiago—about five hundred miles. Here, though, they measure distance in kilómetros, and we have to figure it out in miles. A kilómetro is five eighths of a mile. Cuba has many railroads, and a good highway runs the full length of the island.

We were traveling east most of the time and are now on the south shore of the island and nearly at the east end. There is more of Cuba than I had thought. The island is about as large as the state of Louisiana, Uncle says, but is twice as densely populated. We could have come in a jiffy by airplane, but I am glad we didn't. Although the train journey took eighteen hours, we saw more of the people and the interesting sights than would have been possible in an airplane.

On the edge of Havana are many sugar and tobacco factories. In the country we saw the plantations where the sugar cane and tobacco are raised. Along the way there were some lovely big plantation houses; also small, crowded huts, many of which were built of clapboards and roofed over with tin. I think they

must be unbearably hot. Near some of the cabins little black boys were playing, with nothing on but their birthday suits.

At one town they were having a carnival. The streets were filled with people wearing queer costumes and masks, all having a jolly time. Uncle Adrian says they parade and ride around until late at night, and sometimes keep it up for a month. At another place we saw regular Western cowboys driving big two-wheeled milk carts. We also saw several country schools with Army officers serving as schoolmarms. Sometimes along the way there was nothing to see but trees and brush and muddy streams.

Now we are in a very nice tropical hotel again, and tomorrow we shall see Santiago.

Goodby,
Bob



Santiago
The next day

Dear Home Folks,

This quaint old town was founded by the son of Christopher Columbus in 1514 (says my guidebook). It really looks old. The crooked streets climb steep hillsides between rows of old Spanish houses with overhanging balconies. There are more Negroes here than in Havana, and they and the whites seem to mingle together very freely.

We took a taxi out to a big church on a hill, the Church of the Virgin. This is a famous religious shrine to which pilgrims come from all over Cuba, but today we saw only tramps and beggars there. We also drove out to San Juan Hill, where "Teddy" Roosevelt and his Roughriders charged against the Spanish forces in the war for Cuba's independence. The place is covered with monuments. East from Santiago, at the far end of the island, is Guantánamo Bay, where the United States has a big base for our fleet. Sorry we are not going out to see it.

The hills back of Santiago are green with forests, making a pretty setting for the town and its broad bay. In and out of this harbor Cortés used to make his way, four centuries ago, before he led his conquering army to Mexico. Here, too, not so long ago, the Spanish fleet was cornered and defeated by ours in the Spanish American War.

This afternoon Uncle Adrian made arrangements for us to get passage on a little steamer bound for Haiti. Like Cortés, we shall set sail and go forth to conquer! Will send you some gold and Indians.

Your shipmate,

Robert Eden M.

P.S. In this part of Cuba some of the Spanish men put an initial after their last name, and Uncle says it is the initial of their mother's last name. Try it yourself!

R.

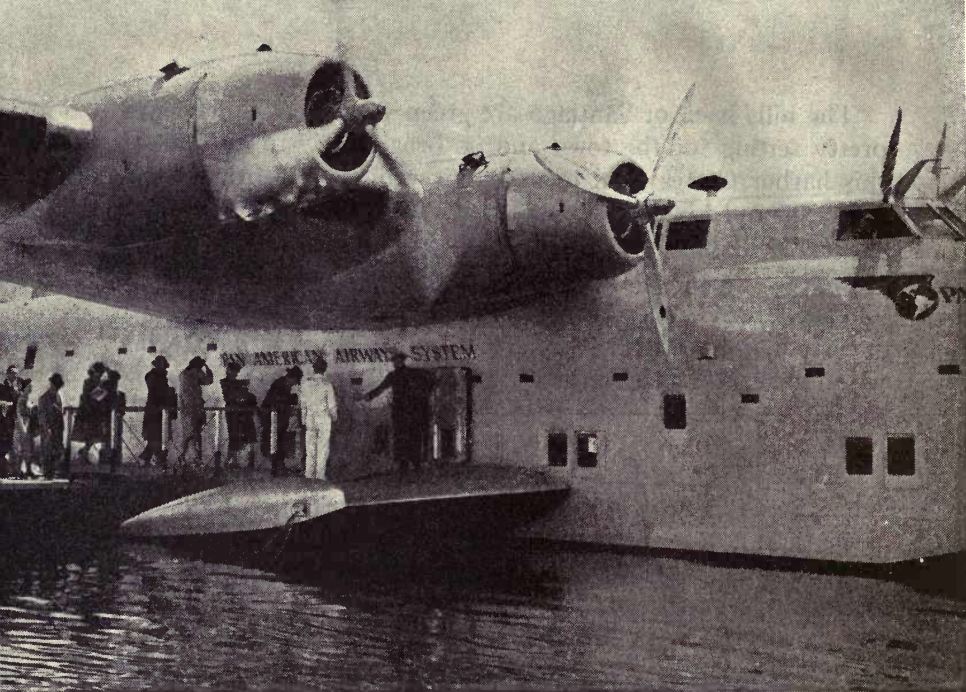


Port-au-Prince
Haiti

Dear Landlubbers,

You should have been with me the past two days! We came to this old French town on a small combination steamer, one that carried both freight and passengers. We could have come by air, but chose this old boat for the fun of it. It was fun for a while. Our quarters were clean and comfortable, but the food was greasy, and the whole ship had a mixed odor of coffee, fish, and spoiled bananas. I rocked with the waves most of the first day, reviewing Spanish. Then I became seasick. The less said about that the better.

It seemed ages before we saw the wooded, hilly shore and the colored sails of fishing boats anchored in the harbor. Even after getting my feet on the ground I felt weak, and when we passed the market place I began to feel sick again. The market was



Pan American Airways

This powerful airliner gives the traveler
a sense of security as well as a feeling of adventure

crowded with noisy French-speaking Negro customers, trying to find what they wanted in the hundreds of baskets and stalls. Everything was spread out in the open—clothing, hardware, vegetables, fruit, and *meat*.

We came from the market to the hotel and are staying in the rest of today. That first day on the ship I worked hard reviewing Spanish pronunciation. It bothers me more than the rules of grammar, because in Spanish America they do not pronounce their words quite as our books teach us. Anyway, I made out some simple pocket rules and wrote them on a card to carry with me. They will be of no help in Haiti, I find, because the people speak French; but I hope I shall be better prepared when we are again in Spanish America. If some of you want to copy my rules, here they are:

Accent

On *last* syllable if word ends with a consonant other than *n* or *s*.
On *next to last* syllable if word ends with a vowel or with *n* or *s*.
Or, *exceptions*, as shown by accent mark.

Vowels

a, as in "far."
e, as in "hey," usually; but sometimes as in "bet."
i, as in "machine."
o, as in "hole" if stressed; or else as in "nor."
u, as in "tabu."
y, (when used as a vowel) like *i*, above.

Consonants

b and *v*, alike. At first of a word, either is a soft *b*; in the word, either is a *v* if between vowels.
c, usually like *k*. Before *e* or *i* it is pronounced *s*; or in some old Spanish words, *th*.
ch, as in "cherry."
h, never sounded.
j, a heavy *h*.
ll, like our *y*; or in Central America and the Far South, like a *j*.
ñ, like *ny* in "canyon."
x, usually *s*; but between vowels it is pronounced like "eggs."
z, like *s*; or in some old Spanish words, *th*.
d, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, and *y*, never mind. Usually like ours, except that *d* is often *th*; a *g* before *e* or *i* is an *h*; *qu* is a *k*; and an *r* is always rolled, or vibrated.

There you are. It is so warm here I almost gave out before I finished. Just now I asked my uncle if he could help me make up a similar set of rules for Portuguese to send you when I get to Brazil. He said it would be difficult, because Brazilian Portuguese is complicated, but we agreed to try to prepare simple rules some other day. (See pages 59-60.)

Hasta mañana,

Robert

Port-au-Prince

A day later

Dear Friends,

Can you imagine a nation of Negroes? Well, that is Haiti. Black people everywhere, but dressed in white. You see prosperous natives driving cars and running the business places of the city, and you see poor ones trudging along the side streets and country roads. On their heads the women carry to market unbelievable loads—whole bunches of bananas, big, heavy bundles, water jars, or bushel baskets of peanuts, and the like.

I have mentioned before that the language here is French. The first settlers were French pirates; and until the revolution, about 1800, the Haiti half of this island belonged to France. The eastern half, which is now the Dominican Republic, was Spanish. The entire island is about the size of South Carolina.

Today we saw the cathedral, the White House of Haiti, and the capitol, all built of snow-white stone. We saw women smoking pipes, and we watched boys training roosters for cock-fights, the favorite sport. I wanted to see a Voodoo ceremony, but they say the stories about Voodooism here are exaggerated. I also wanted to see the Citadel, an immense castle built long ago by Christophe, a Negro king of Haiti, but it is on the north coast, too far for us to go this trip. Instead, we are going by plane to the Dominican part of this island.

So long,

Robert



Trujillo City

Dominican Republic

Dear Classmates,

At last we have made a part of our journey by plane, a big airliner like those we see in our country. On our way here we were only about an hour in the air! Flying gave me a real thrill, but we did not get a very good impression of the country and its people. We took the plane this short distance because there is no railway, and the only other comfortable way to make

the journey is by boat around the coast. We should not have seen much that way, either.

Our plane landed at a place called San Pedro de Macorís, to the east of this city, where we took a bus. Along the way I saw many Negroes; but here the language is Spanish, instead of French. Many of the women here seem able to afford the luxury of horses to ride, and most of the men and boys wear military uniforms.

This city used to be called Santo Domingo. You will probably find that name on your maps, for that is what is given in my guidebook. The new name, Trujillo City, has been adopted recently in honor of the dictator, Trujillo, who rebuilt the city after a hurricane. Fortunately the storm did not destroy the old colonial houses down near the water front, some of which date back to the time of Columbus. In fact, this is the most ancient Spanish city in America, and for a time it was the center of all the activities in the young Spanish colonies. It is hard to realize that this quiet, pleasant town once knew great men like Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, and Diego Columbus. Today we saw the old house once occupied by Diego, who, as you doubtless know, was the son of Christopher; and later, in the quaint old cathedral, we saw a huge tomb which they say contains the remains of the great discoverer himself.

Now that we have been to the very birthplace of American history, we are going to move on westward to the mainland, as the Spanish conquerors did several centuries ago. Only they didn't have airplanes! I am not certain how soon I'll have more to write about, but you will hear from me when I do.

Bob



Havana, Cuba

The next day

Dear Friends,

We came back over the same ground (and water) by plane. We hopped from Trujillo to Port-au-Prince to Santiago to



Pan American Airways

Up-to-date equipment is found
in the airliner's serving quarters

Havana today and still have time left. It was a real treat to see from the air the same sea and land over which we had crept so slowly by boat and train on our way down. The good bird's-eye view we had of Havana made me realize even more than ever what a large city it is. It seems quite modern to us now, by contrast with some of the other towns.

Tomorrow we fly to Mexico.

Sincerely yours,
Robert



ON THE MAINLAND

Mérida
México

Dear Northern Neighbors,

We are in Mexico already, but guess where! Get your map. See that big bulge on the lower part of Mexico, pointing up toward Cuba and Florida? On it you will find Mérida. It is about five hundred miles, as the plane flies, from Havana to this city. The trip took only about four hours. We saw ships crossing from Havana, too, but they put in at Progreso, north of us, and the passengers came here by train or bus. Though our plane went on to Mexico City, we stopped off to get acquainted with this part of the country.

Mérida is the capital of a province called Yucatán. Even though it seems an out-of-the-way place, it has paved streets, electric lights, and many modern buildings. The houses, like those in Cuba, stand close to the street and have patios inside.

We are in the same warm, tropical zone as Cuba. But being away from the sea in an altitude that is not very high, I notice the heat more than I did in Havana. The language here is Spanish, and so far I have heard no one using any other language.

On our way across, our luggage was inspected again by customs officers. This time, upon arrival, Uncle Adrian had to have a travelers' check cashed in Mexican money. Travelers' checks, as you know, have the value printed on them and your signature already affixed. Then by signing again, so that the signatures can be compared, you can cash the check in local money at banks, hotels, and stores. So far we have been getting along very well with United States money, but Uncle says we must not depend on it now. When he cashed the check here at the hotel he received a fistful of paper money and silver dollars. Mexicans call their dollars pesos, and we received five of them for each of our dollars. My uncle gave me twenty pesos, which makes we feel suddenly wealthy and eager to see what I can buy. Tomorrow, perhaps?

Adiós,
Bob



Mérida, again
Yucatán

My dear Friends,

I am very weary from today's sightseeing trip, but I must hold up until I can tell you about it.

First, we walked about the city and saw the parks, the stores, the old church, the museum, and the market place. But what I was most interested in was the ruins of the very old cities where the Maya Indians lived long before the Spaniards came. We had to take a bus, which carried us past many windmills and dusty fields of big agave plants. From those plants the Indian laborers get a yellow fiber used in the manufacture of rope. They call it henequén, which to us is sisal hemp. But on to the old ruins! They are marvelous, especially the Temple

of the Warriors, which has two great terraces studded with hundreds of round pillars. Back of the terraces rises a flat-topped pyramid. The high steps of the stairway are so very steep I cannot imagine how they were used. On the flat top at the head of those stairs stand walls surrounding more pillars. It is so hard to describe the Temple that I'll see if I can send you some pictures.

We saw other ruins too, and all kinds of stone totem poles and sculpture work. The carved figures look like wild Oriental idols. The country from here on down into Guatemala and Honduras is full of ruins, which date back nearly to the time of Christ, according to my guidebook. What puzzles me is why the Mayas built such queer temples and why they later went off and left them.

I should like to stay here and do some exploring, but tomorrow we catch a plane for Mexico City. See you there.

Good night,
Bob



México, Distrito Federal

Hello,

Just a line to let you know we are in Mexico City. I am glad the plane kept clear of the mountains we passed over. The snow-covered peaks seemed to reach up to the sun. Midway about them a belt of clouds was hovering, and far below, in the narrow valleys, we could get an occasional glimpse of the steaming green tropical jungle. We also saw two railway lines that run across the mountains from Vera Cruz on the coast. My uncle says they were built by Englishmen and North Americans.

It took most of yesterday to fly here and get settled. All I know of Mexico City yet is what I saw last evening—a big, bright, busy, crowded, confusing capital. (Ask our English teacher what she thinks of that alliteration.)

In Cuba I discovered that the Hispanic Americans include Negroes as well as whites. Here I should say that the Latin Americans also include Indians—Indians and mestizos, or

mixed people, of all shades, some plump and prosperous, others scrawny and poor.

We are staying in today and have been sleeping most of the time. The altitude here is a mile and a half above sea level. Even though we are still in the tropics, the climate is cool, and they say it is just about the same the year around. We have been traveling steadily for a while, and not sleeping much because of the heat. Now this cool light air has stopped us in our tracks. We suddenly realized that we are worn out.

Oh well, cheerio and more later,

Bob



México, D. F.

At our hotel four days later

Dear "Good Neighbors,"

Sorry I have neglected you lately. After we started sight-seeing we kept so busy I did not have time to write. We visited San Juan Teotihuacán, a group of pyramids northeast of the city. The largest, we were told, is bigger than any in Egypt. I climbed it and found it big enough! However, there is nothing inside these pyramids but rocks and earth. Perhaps they were built for towers from which to conduct the Indian religious ceremonies. Some of the smaller structures had sculptured dragons' heads about the base. They call them feathered serpents, the favorite idol of the ancient Toltec Indians.

We also visited the National Palace, the large government building in the heart of Mexico City. On the wall there we saw the frescoes recently painted by Diego Rivera, a noted Mexican artist, and we visited some of the old reception rooms. In front of the Palace is the Zócalo, a busy public square that still has its old Indian name. That is where the people have great mass meetings and have had them ever since the time the Aztec Indians first built this city. On one side of the Zócalo is the enormous cathedral, and around the corner is a museum. In it we saw a magnificent carriage and other relics of the days when

Maximilian of Austria was the Mexican emperor. We window-shopped along the crowded streets and then took a cab past the Alameda, the beautiful central park, and on out the Paseo de la Reforma. It is a beautiful boulevard, reminding me of El Prado in Havana. It runs into a large park, where high on a hill overlooking the city is Chapultepec Castle. For ages this castle was the White House of Mexican presidents and dictators, and during our war with Mexico our troops stormed and captured this castle.

One whole day we spent on a trip southeast. We visited the famous Zochimilco Floating Gardens, where tourists and visitors from local cities ride in covered boats while being entertained by native musicians. Then we went on to Puebla, the prettiest place yet. The population is only about one hundred fifteen thousand, but the city must have two hundred churches! They say it has one church for each day in the year, but I did not see that many. Most of them were built in the period when Mexico was still a colony of Spain. They are very beautiful, and many are decorated with brightly colored tile made there in Puebla. Some had a mass of most intricate wood-carving on doors and altar pieces. I hope my snapshots are good. If so, I'll send you some.

This morning we strolled about in the endless market place downtown. There were many things I wanted to buy and take home, but we are going in the opposite direction and cannot carry much extra baggage. It was hard to resist the displays of baskets, pottery, silverware, woodcarvings, and bright scarfs, called sarapes, especially when the prices were so low. I never before saw so many things jammed into a few blocks. Not only were there the regular stores but stalls built on the sidewalks and out into the streets. I am growing accustomed to this, however, for we see one of these markets in every town we visit.

This afternoon we went out to the shrine of Guadalupe, a grand old church building at the northern limits of the city. It is, so to speak, the mother church of the Mexican Indians, many thousands of whom make a pilgrimage here each December. These people all seem to be faithful Catholics.



Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

This home of a humble, thrifty Mexican is appealing in its neatness

There are so many things I have not mentioned. For example, "Popo" and "Izta," the two mountain peaks standing serenely on guard in the distance. And I have not said anything about the traffic here. It is noisy and reckless. The people seem to live in the streets, and when our cab came upon a crowd they ran in all directions, like chickens. Our taxi driver honked his horn at every corner, and all other drivers did, too. You can imagine what a constant noise that would make. But our hotel proprietor did not seem to mind it. His chief worry was that the labor organizations were running everything. He told Uncle Adrian he had to be very careful not to violate the labor rules and get reported by the union.

It seems to me I have had a "tripfull" already. What more could there be to see in the other countries? Soon we'll be on our way again, and I'll find out.

Cordially yours,
Robert



H. Armstrong Roberts

The Panama Canal is a sluggish stream,
but it is more important to the world of trade than most great rivers



Colón, Panamá

Hello again,

Zoom! And we are in Panama in no time at all. I regretted leaving Mexico. After all it is a big country, three times the size of Texas, and we had only begun to see it. Now I am afraid we have slighted Central America too. We did see a lot of country from the plane, and we had a brief stopover in each of the five republics, or six, now, counting Panama. Every time we stopped and took off we had to go through customs inspection.

At Guatemala City we alighted in an ultramodern air terminal. From there we went into the city proper, which is a

curious mixture of old and new. Side by side were new autos, puffing locomotives, and old oxcarts, American tourists and native Indians, paved streets and dirt streets, traffic cops and old-time peddlers. We were definitely in the banana, coconut, and pineapple region, and from the air we saw some of the big plantations where the banana trees are cultivated among the brush and logs of fallen timber. We also saw the railway that my guidebook says was built by Minor C. Keith and other Yankee engineers. We skipped Antigua, the old colonial capital, and Quiriguá, where there are some more curious Maya ruins.

Next it was only a short hop to San Salvador, capital of the little country of that name. We found the capital to be a very modern city, with some of the familiar ancient features. There were no churches or buildings quite as beautiful as others we had seen. Nevertheless the place was interesting, and especially so because we were there on Sunday, when the natives from miles around were in town attending market. They had brought in everything you can imagine—cattle, fruit, vegetables, pottery, rope, charcoal, and all the little Salvadoreans. No doubt you know that this country is especially noted for its coffee.

The next stop was in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras. By the way, one of the advantages of travel by plane is that you can go directly to the capitals of these countries. Since the main cities are located inland, and at a high altitude, the sea traveler, after landing, has to travel inland by bus or train to reach his destination. The railways of Honduras, however, do not extend beyond the eastern lowlands. Tegucigalpa is nearly a hundred miles from the coast and about a half mile above sea level. The altitude makes life comfortable even in the tropics. While there I was impressed by the very primitive state of the country and its Indian population.

The next port of call was Managua, in Nicaragua. Though inland, it is near sea level and consequently more tropical in its climate. The people—the brown Indians in their white hats and linen suits—seemed to be very energetic for a Central American country. Coffee and cattle are the chief products of that region. Managua is on the shore of a lake of the same

name, and to the south is the larger Lake Nicaragua through which our government may someday open another canal connecting the two oceans.

We visited one more republic, Costa Rica. In it our plane stopped at San José, the capital. It is the most progressive of all the places we saw. It has well-paved streets, many parks, modern school buildings, and a large opera house. I saw no Indians, only white people; what Negroes there are live on the Caribbean coast. The country owes its prosperity to coffee and bananas.

From San José we flew to Cristóbal, which is located next to Colón at the Caribbean entrance of the Panama Canal. Before we landed we could see both oceans and almost the full length of the canal. So far I have used my time here catching up with my correspondence. I can tell you more about Panama later.

Good night,
Robert



On board ship
Near Panama City

My dear Friends,

Last night I dreamed I was trying to get a camera shot of some Indians slashing each other with long knives! I guess I have not told you about those knives. We have seen them once in a while in the more remote rural districts from Mexico on south. They are called machetes and are wicked looking weapons nearly three feet long. The men carry them in their hands or in sheaths and use them to cut grass, corn, wood, banana stocks, and so on. I could buy one in almost any market or curio shop, but what should I ever do with it?

Now we have come down to earth again and are traveling on a passenger ship. We took it because we wanted to go *through* the canal, not *over* it. Besides, Uncle Adrian says we cannot afford to travel by air all the way.

At Cristóbal we saw acres and acres of big piers and cement

warehouses, where cargoes of coffee, bananas, machinery, and lumber were being transferred from ship to ship by means of hundreds of busy electric trucks. Next door to Cristóbal is Colón, or that part of the city outside our Canal Zone. There we spent the night in sweltering tropical heat. No doubt that is why I had bad dreams. Colón is made up of people from all parts of the world. There are Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Negroes, Americans, and Europeans, and most of them seem to be operating curio shops, amusement places, and tourist accommodations.

On our way through the canal we have seen no towns of any importance, but the canal itself keeps me spellbound. Our ship seems very large in the canal, but out at sea I know it will seem all too small. Little electric tugs towed us into the locks, where the gates closed behind us and the inpouring water lifted us up to Gatún Lake. Then we traveled the length of the lake and now are again in the ditch, which is cut deep into the backbone of the isthmus. We wish we could stop and inspect Gatún Dam and some of the locks, but no chance. Everything is closely guarded by soldiers and policemen.

Believe it or not, we are traveling this fifty miles *southeast* to cross from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Look at a map of Panama and you will see that I am right. We are not crossing, though, where Balboa did long ago. He walked across farther to the east, where the isthmus is wider and wilder. Just think, it took him twenty-eight days! We do it in eight hours, in easy deck chairs, with books and every modern comfort close at hand, and white-clad stewards to wait on us.

As I write I keep going over in my mind the territory we covered, regions that I hardly knew existed. A while ago I figured out that all of Central America taken together is about as large as all of New England plus New York and New Jersey. El Salvador, the smallest country, is ten times the size of Rhode Island, our smallest state. Yet the total population of Central America is only about eight million, or less than that of New York State. Everything seems so undeveloped. These countries have abundant rain, good soil, unused water power, heavy

hardwood forests, tropical fruit and nuts, and some minerals. But railroads, highways, schools, and modern conveniences are scarce except near the few cities. It would seem to me that if men are looking for a rich frontier to open up, this is it.

We have come in sight of Panama City already.

Good-by,
Your classmate,

Robert

DOWN THE WEST COAST

On shipboard

Near Guayaquil, Ecuador

Dear faraway Friends,

The journey by boat was pleasant for a change, especially since we came this thousand miles on a real passenger liner. No more smelly freighters for me!

At Panama City we stopped only long enough to take a sight-seeing trip by cab. There, just as at the other end of the canal,

Much of our cocoa comes from Ecuador,
and here in the streets of Guayaquil we see workers sorting cocoa beans

James Sawders



we found two cities, Balboa, within the Canal Zone, and Panama City, the original city, the capital of Panama, just outside the zone. Canal workers receive coupons which permit them to buy what they need cheaply at the government stores.

Panama City, like Colón, has its jumble of many kinds of people, only it is bigger and more attractive than Colón. It has fine boulevards, a busy plaza, a cathedral, the presidential palace, and the government buildings. In one of the old churches we saw a solid gold cross that the monks saved from a pirate long ago by quickly whitewashing it while the raiders were approaching. Uncle Adrian, who has been in Panama City several times before, says that when he first came it was a wicked, boisterous place.

Outside the city our ship passed a chain of islands where our hidden batteries of big guns guard the canal. A dozen planes were humming overhead. We met a number of ships from many lands, plodding toward the canal. Then our ship pushed boldly out to sea, instead of hugging the coast as Pizarro did four centuries earlier when he set out to conquer the unknown lands of Peru.

On our first day out we hove to at the foot of the blue Andes. The port was little Buenaventura, a rain-soaked village of Negroes on the coast of Colombia. The houses were mostly dreary shacks made of galvanized sheet iron. But I must not judge Colombia by this view of it. The only way to see the heart of that land is to come in from the Caribbean to Bogotá, high in the mountains. Later I hope we may do that.

We have made the acquaintance of several of our fellow passengers. One of them, a man from Ecuador, stands at the rail eagerly watching the approaching skyline of his native country. He boasts that Ecuador could never be equaled in beauty and happiness by any other country in the world. Altogether we have not lacked for interesting company.

We are now heading into the broad mouth of a yellow, glassy river, past the thatched huts of native fishermen. I am going to join my friend at the rail.

Buenas tardes,

Bob



De Cou from James Sawders

These Indian women live among the high Andes in Peru, where existence is a struggle



Quito, Ecuador
Two days later

Greetings,

Yes, greetings from the equator. We are right on it, only there is no line across the country to mark it, as I once imagined. To my astonishment we have actually been chilly here. This is due to the altitude, which is nearly two miles above sea level. Down at Guayaquil, near the sea, we nearly smothered.

When we put ashore down there, amidst all kinds of craft from trim fishing smacks to Indian dugouts, we had to go through a customs house again and change our money once

more. This time we got sucres, fourteen of them for each of our dollars. I think someone ought to do something about customs houses and money. They are both a big nuisance. How much easier it would be if a person could go from country to country without so many inspections and delays and without having to learn about new coins every time! I wonder, too, how the people of this country could ever return our visit. For a few dollars we get so much of their money we can buy almost anything we want. But if a man living here and earning only the average wage of about a sucre a day wished to travel to the United States he would need a young fortune to get very far.

Oh yes, Guayaquil. A tropical city, with its plazas and palms, its covered sidewalks and its dark stone houses. This is the land of bananas, cocoa, and panama hats. We saw cacao beans, from which cocoa is made, spread out to dry on canvases in some of the back streets. The misnamed panama hats are made from a native fern which grows along the coast and back in the mountain valleys. On the boulevard near the river front is a huge monument dedicated to Bolívar and San Martín, two of the liberators of South America, who once met here near the end of their successful wars for independence.

From Guayaquil we came zigzagging up the mountain by train. It was an express train, made in the United States, but the pull was hard and slow. The mixed train, carrying both freight and passengers, takes two days to reach Quito, the capital. Uncle Adrian says most of this railway was built by a Virginian named Archer Harman. After passing banana and cacao groves, we came to wheat and corn fields on higher ground, and finally crossed over a cold barren stretch, almost desert, high in the Andes, before dropping down a bit to Quito. Along the way we had glimpses of high volcanic peaks, higher than those we had seen in Central America.

Ecuador is another nation of Indians and mestizos, who are short, dark people, and very poor. They weave their own bright clothes and rugs and make for themselves almost everything else they need. Many still speak the ancient Indian languages. But in Quito there are also many aristocratic Spanish families,

descendants of the colonial conquerors. They have beautiful stone residences, maintained by income from country plantations, and they are very proud of their refinement and family connections. These Ecuadorians, I learn, are friendly with Chileans, far to the south, but neither people has much love for the Peruvians, whose country is wedged between the two. Ecuador and Peru long disputed their boundary line, and now that a settlement has been reached many people here feel that they were "jipped." How they do burn with fury over some miles of mountain wilderness and jungle that few white men have ever seen. But Ecuador is a small country, and the people hate to lose any territory. Small? Yes, by comparison with the neighboring countries, but it is nearly as large as New Mexico, and the population is half that of Texas.

It is late now.

Adiós,

Bob



Lima, Perú

Dear Friends,

How I should like to see you! Or better yet, how I wish you were with us!

You could never appreciate the great distances of South America without actually coming here. From Guayaquil to Lima is as far as from Chicago to Denver; yet if you look at your map you will see that we have traveled a mere couple of inches. We are only halfway from the Canal Zone to Valparaíso, Chile.

After we came down from Quito and boarded a ship at Guayaquil, we had a beautiful trip along the coast of Peru, often within sight of the lofty, misty Andes mountains. Twice we came in from the sea, leaving the gulls and pelicans to themselves for a few hours, while we had a close-up view of Talará and Salaverry. Talará, a town of refineries and business offices, is the port for the northern Peruvian oil fields. Salaverry is the

stopping place for the inland city of Trujillo, founded by Pizarro himself. It is the center of a rich irrigated valley in which sugar cane is grown. Near by are the ruins of Chan Chan, the city of the ancient Indians who also irrigated those fields and prospered there until conquered by the Inca Indians, who in turn were conquered by the Spaniards. I read that the chalky ruins of the city, from which the Spaniards carried out four million dollars' worth of precious metals, cover eleven square miles. The coastal strip in that vicinity, in fact all the way from Ecuador, is very dry. Uncle Adrian explained that the cool winds blowing inland from a cold ocean current lick up moisture from the soil and leave the region a barren desert.

Callao, on the coast near Lima, is quite a city itself, but Lima far surpasses it, with a population of over half a million, mostly of Indian descent and proud of it. No longer do we see the white clothes of the tropics. Both Indian homespun and modern business suits are the style, and many of the older women wear black mantas, or shawls. Here I become aware that our seasons are turned around. Our spring months are their autumn months; and when we have summer they have winter, a foggy winter without rain or snow. Though Lima has its old customs and its old Spanish houses and churches, it is rapidly growing modern.

The Pan American Highway passes through these sandy wastes along the Peruvian coast — a true coastal desert

James Sawders



Uncle Adrian took me to the great cathedral, where we gazed on the shriveled mummy of Pizarro (encased in glass). We also saw the very old St. Mark's University and the very new School of Social Work. We passed modern movie houses and stores on our way to the very old hall on the Plaza, where long ago the Spaniards held trials of the colonists suspected of abandoning the Christian faith. Most thrilling of all was a ride in a new automobile, made in Detroit, through the confusing maze of streets to a modern suburb of bungalows like those in southern California, and then around to the mountain highway. We drove up the Andes through tunnels and along the edge of deep chasms to an altitude of 16,000 feet and were less than a hundred miles from town. It was a steep climb, and at the top the altitude made me so faint I could hardly stand. A railroad goes on up to the rich Cerro de Pasco copper mines. This is the remarkable Oroya Railway, constructed mostly by Henry Meiggs of the United States.

Your letters, forwarded from Mexico City, finally caught up with us here. I was so glad to hear from you, and from mother, too.

Tomorrow we take a skyliner over Inca-land!

Very sincerely yours,

Robert



La Paz, Bolivia

Dear Friends,

The morning after I last wrote we flew out to sea from Lima, over many white islands of rich guano. This guano, sold for fertilizer, has been one of Peru's sources of wealth. The plane followed the coast line and then cut in to Arequipa, an oyster-white city in the midst of the region long inhabited by the Inca Indians. It lies in a broad green valley at the foot of a huge cone-shaped volcanic peak. We were there by one in the afternoon and stopped over to take a look. It is another city of beautiful churches, like Puebla in Mexico. The streets were filled with black-robed nuns, barefoot Indians. and herds of



Moore-McCormack Lines

Arequipa, Peru, seems to be seeking protection from this towering mountain in the Andes

long-necked, long-haired llamas. In these mountains the llamas are both beasts of burden and a source of wool, as they have been since early Inca days. Arequipa, at the foot of tall mountain peaks, was cut off from the world until Henry Meiggs, and others after his death, built a railroad through that city to Puno and Cuzco.

I have read about Cuzco, the old Inca capital, and the ruins of Macchu Picchu, an ancient stone city. However, our next flight was not north toward Cuzco, but due east over the mountains and across the southern tip of Lake Titicaca, the highest navigable lake in the world, to the city of La Paz in Bolivia.

Here we are indeed high in the mountains. The air is so thin I gasp for breath. Because there could be no airport in the canyon where La Paz is located, the planes land on a plateau a half mile above the city. After the usual inspection the pas-

sengers come *down* by bus into this sky city, two miles above sea level. This part of Bolivia is brown and barren. The Indians have a hard struggle getting mutton and potatoes to eat.

The country has seen bloody wars and has lost its coastal region, rich in nitrates, to Chile and Peru. But the people of La Paz are proud and artistic, and seem determined to make progress. They are building modern schools and are trying to develop the tropical region east of the mountains. That is very difficult because of the problem of transportation. Of course Bolivia does have one great source of wealth, the rich tin mines at Potosí. They are important to us too, because there are but few other places in the world from which we can get our tin.

Down here, whenever we want to go anywhere, we always have to head for the seacoast first. That is the way in western South America. These countries look outward toward the Pacific Ocean; yet they also have large areas east of the mountains. However, it would be easier to go around and come in by the Amazon Valley than to try to cross these mountains to the rich inland region not far away, except by airplane.

Next we turn toward the Pacific again, on our way to Chile.

So long,

Bob



Santiago, Chile

Hello again,

We are far, far from home, but I feel more at home than at any place we have yet visited. This is a white man's country and a truly modern city. And what's more, I have been visiting with Tomás Woods, with whom I corresponded in Spanish class last year. We are now in the country at his father's hacienda, or plantation.

It was a long flight from La Paz to Santiago. First we went to Arica on the coast. The sandy desert there was long fought over by Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, because of the valuable nitrate beds. But since scientists have learned to obtain nitrates from the air, the shipments from northern Chile have fallen off. The old boom towns are quiet now.

Next, flanked by the mountains on the left and by the Pacific on the right, we flew down the coast a thousand miles. Beneath us the narrow coastal belt was a desert, good only for its nitrates and rich copper ores, until we came within about three hundred miles of our destination. Then the land turned green, and we could see cultivated fields, flocks of sheep, and rows of trees and grapevines. We skirted the giant mountain peak of all America—Aconcagua, which reaches more than 23,000 feet into the sky. It has our tallest peaks outclassed by nearly two miles. These Andes are really terrific.

We could see Valparaíso on the coast, and we passed over a number of attractive small cities before swooping down onto the spacious landing field at Santiago. There I saw some pretty señoritas piloting their own cabin planes and knew immediately that Chile was going to be different. The girls here are very active and progressive, as in our own country.

The very charming people I met in Santiago, I realize now, were of the upper class. Out here on this big ranch I have learned that the real work of the country is done by the ranch laborers, poor people who live in little cottages and receive pay of only a few cents a day (in our money). They are not exactly slaves, but most of them are not really free. They simply stay on the land and work, as their families have done for generations. The government has now taken an interest in them and is trying to give them better schooling, old-age pensions, and insurance against injury, but the old aristocrats cannot see much point to that.

At harvest time, when the families of the laborers have their joyous fiestas, they drink and sing and dance the cueca, their lively folk dance. Our landlord thinks they are as happy and well cared for as anyone could wish.

Tomás is of English descent. His friends are of Irish, English, Spanish, Italian, and German origin, but all are proud Chileans now. A good many people, mainly in the poorer laboring class, are part Indian. When the Spaniards first came here they drove the fierce Araucanian Indians southward, after many bloody battles. The stories of the frontier in Chile remind me

of the chapter on the Westward Movement in our history textbook.

Though we are having a grand time, I am glad we are soon to be on our way across the mountains to Argentina, which my uncle tells me is one of the great nations of South America.

Adiós,

Roberto Eden y Masters

P. S. In southern Cuba some of the men add the initial of their mother's name to the last name. In many of the other countries they add the name itself. Thus Ávila Camacho is all surname. Down here it seems odd to find an Italian and an English name, or a Spanish and an Irish name, hooked together by this old Spanish custom.

R.

UP THE EAST COAST

Buenos Aires, Argentina

You money-grabbing Yankees,

Well, here I am in Argentina on the east coast of South America. I see by the Buenos Aires newspapers that some Argentinians do not understand us North Americans any too well. They would like to have us trade more with them. They are a proud nation and suspect that we feel more kindly toward their rival, Brazil, than we do toward them. They do not seem to realize how dear to us is our cup of Brazilian coffee and that we produce our own cotton, wheat, and meat.

A week ago I thought surely I should not learn or see anything more in South America that would be different enough to arouse fresh interest. I was wrong. Each country has its own peculiar attractions.

One of the surprising things about Buenos Aires is the large number of Italians here. Another is its size; it is larger than Philadelphia, and is the largest city in all Latin America. The city is modern too, quite different from the old Indian towns in the Andes.

We came in by plane from the west. Flying here from Santiago was something like flying from Salt Lake City to Omaha, with the Rocky Mountains jacked up several thousand feet. We came through a high pass, where the famous peace statue, the Christ of the Andes, stands at the cold boundary line. There we were flying through a mist above stony crags and peaks jutting up from great beds of snow. Then we came out into the sun again and soared over the foothills to land briefly at Mendoza, a red-roofed, busy city in the heart of Argentina's fruit and grape region. Then up again and eastward over the pampas, a wide brown plain.

We caught glimpses of a railway line, which is the only one extending directly across the Andean range into South America's great central plains, and we saw occasional houses, villages, and large herds of white cattle. That was the great ranch country, the land of enormous estates and hard-riding cowboys.

Near Buenos Aires there were many railroads, highways, and villages. Along the green countryside were brown patches made by the plowed fields. Argentina is large, about one third the size of the United States, and we have seen only a narrow strip across the center of it. Far to the south, near the Antarctic, is the province of Patagonia, dry and cold; and far to the north, bordering the tropical zone, is the Gran Chaco, a hot and boggy lowland.

Here in Buenos Aires we have taken a ride in a subway and have traveled the full length of a beautiful boulevard, the Avenida de Mayo, to the park surrounding the capitol building. We ate in a café where the men are served on one side and the women and family groups on the other. There are many pretty señoritas, but the women are kept "in their place" more than in Chile. The men here, as in most of the countries we have visited, like to talk about their beautiful women, their fine horses, and their political ideas.

Tomorrow I shall send you some souvenir postcards, so you may see some of the beautiful parks and buildings of this great city.

Best wishes.

Your pal, *Robert*

Buenos Aires, again
Three days later

My home-town Friends,

These people of Argentina certainly have good reason to be proud.

I marvel at the greatness and beauty of this city, built here on the flat plains near the mouth of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. Although many of the buildings are old, they are decorated with domes, balconies, and sculpture in an attractive manner. Towering above them are many modern skyscrapers—some of the most beautiful I have ever seen. At an office of an oil company that we visited the men boasted that Buenos Aires has the greatest foreign trade, in relation to population, of any of the world's seaports, that it has a very low death rate, and that half its citizens are of foreign birth or parentage. I could add that it seems to me an unusually clean city for one so large and busy.

Since my uncle used to work for an oil company and is always interested in the industry, I left him to visit with the men, who were describing some new wells opened in this country. I went forth "on my own" to stroll along Florida Avenue, the principal shopping district. The narrow street was crowded with people who look and dress much like those in our own big cities. Though there are about fifty nationalities represented in the population here, the townsmen speak Spanish in most of the shops and offices. There are districts, however, in which other languages are used almost exclusively, and I understand that in some places in the country there are villages made up almost entirely of Italians or Germans.

Yesterday we made a roundabout trip by train and bus through the country south and west of this city. We saw a rich ranch and farming country, dotted with fine homes and attractive towns. The latter were linked by a network of paved highways and modern railways. Near Buenos Aires we passed the beautiful estates of the wealthy country gentlemen, who raise fine horses and cattle on ranches so well kept that they look



Moore-McCormack Lines

This apartment house might be near Central Park in New York City, but is a part of the attractive residential district of Buenos Aires



H. Armstrong Roberts

On the hill at the right in this bay of Rio de Janeiro stands a thirty-foot statue of Christ, which is shown on page 236

like big parks. Farther out we saw the broad flat fields where wheat and corn are raised by aid of machinery made in England and the United States. The automobiles looked very familiar, too, for nearly all were the same as those we have at home. In fact, I could very easily have imagined that we were in a very rich farming belt somewhere in our own Middle West instead of in a land at the other end of the hemisphere!

Today we visited the wharves that line the water front of Buenos Aires. At the docks the ships from Europe and the United States were unloading machinery, vehicles, and building materials. Others were taking on cargoes of cattle, frozen meat, hides, wheat, corn, and cotton. Down the coast as far as I could see stood a row of grain elevators and meat-packing plants. The industry and traffic of the port combined with our glimpse of the country gave me the two sides of the picture of the wealth and importance of Argentina.

Tonight we shall return to the docks on the coast to board a passenger ship for Uruguay.

Good-by till later,

Robert



Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Dear Friends,

It seems long ago that I wrote you from Argentina, and years since I said good-by and started on this long trip. Many letters were awaiting me here, however, and they helped me catch up with the doings at home. Sorry to hear that our team lost out in the tournament. That reminds me. I have learned that many of the countries I have visited are beginning to go in for sports in a big way. I have been hoping we might see one of their national swimming matches or track meets, but we always arrive on the scene before or after the big event.

Oh yes, I left you in Buenos Aires and already I am in Rio de Janeiro, fifteen hundred miles to the northeast. We zig-zagged across the country and took a week to get here. First we crossed from Argentina to Uruguay by boat—125 miles on what is called the Plata River, which is really a bay. Where the bay actually narrows down to a river, farther to the north, it goes by another name, the Paraná. Uruguay is a small nation, about the size of the state of Missouri, with only half as many people, nearly all white. We saw most of the attractions in Montevideo, the capital. Everything there, it seems, is named after a former president, José Batlle, who once did a great deal toward putting that country on the map.

We saw Batlle Park and many attractive gardens, of which the residents seem very proud. There were many hotels along the beach where large numbers of people come to enjoy the bathing and social life during the summer. The resort season, strange as it seems, is from December to April. I was interested in the national sport, pelota, which is a fast game something like squash, and I was also amused by the way the people of

Uruguay sip maté, their own native tea, through long straws while enjoying a social visit.

In Montevideo there are large meat-packing plants built by Armour, Swift, and others, and after we took the train into the country we saw the reason. The nation is a big pasture filled with cattle, sheep, and cowboys, or gauchos.

During our meandering ride northward on a slow train we crossed the Uruguay River into northern Argentina and then traveled up the river valley through many small villages and old Indian missions to the Paraná River and then across into Paraguay. There we were among Indians again; for the hardy Guaraní natives were never fully subdued by the Spaniards, and in the mixing of the races it was they who finally conquered the invaders.

Paraguay is an interesting country. As large as Kansas and Nebraska combined, it has only a million inhabitants, and most of them seem to have a hard struggle to make a living. They have suffered from terrible wars, from oppression by a few big landowners, and from meddling by the more powerful neighboring nations. Their peso is not worth even a penny in our money! I'll never forget one sight—some of the dark women smoking big black cigars.

From Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, we backtracked a short distance, by rail again, and then went on eastward through a country of red earth, colorful flowers, large orange groves, and yerba maté plantations, where the native tea is cultivated. We crossed the Paraná River below the great Iguassú Falls, the Niagara of South America, and soon crossed the Uruguay River into the United States of Brazil. For a long time our train wound among the hills and forests, and finally we came out at São Paulo, a great industrial center in the heart of the coffee region of Brazil.

São Paulo I remember as a busy city made up of people of many races and nationalities. The language there, as in the rest of Brazil, is Portuguese, but we discovered that many people could speak English or Spanish or French. We were thus able to find our way around with little difficulty. The city is high in



Moore-McCormack Lines.

This night view of Santos, Brazil,
was taken from Mont Serrat, looking down a blazing boulevard to the sea

the mountain range near the coast. Perhaps I should not say high, for what is high in Brazil in these old round-topped mountains is low compared with what is high in the Andes. Nevertheless there is a steep grade from São Paulo down to the port at Santos, so steep that the trains are brought up and down by a cable. Over that little railway, built by English engineers seventy years ago, and out of the port of Santos go the coffee, cotton, bananas, oranges, and other products of southern Brazil. While there we visited a coffee plantation that had its own dinky railway line running back among the coffee shrubs growing in the red soil. Warehouses were piled full of sacks of coffee, and open cement floors were covered with the beans spread out in the sun to dry.

Another interesting attraction that we visited at São Paulo

was a new kind of public library that had a collection of phonograph records instead of books. We heard a few selections of folk music representative of the Negroes, Indians, and whites in many parts of the country.

Then by railway again we came on to Rio, after only a short trip. That brought us to the beautiful spot from which I am now writing you, and which cannot be described by mere words. The city is located on a delightful bay, which is snuggled among the mountains. There are miles of water front and white beaches. The town is not laid out exactly on the square, like most other cities we have visited. Instead the streets wander around and cut across each other, and along them are many colorful villas, or residences. The main avenue has wide sidewalks with large black-and-white figures made of mosaic. The men all wear white suits and frequently take time out from work to drink a cup of coffee. The women dress in dark clothes. They seem rather shy and usually do not go out without a chaperon. However, I have observed that many of the women here are very progressive. Like the women of Chile, they are going into many professions and are taking an interest in public affairs.

A large part of the people are mulattoes and Negroes. It is remarkable how the whites and blacks mingle here without reference to race lines. Uncle Adrian says that is one of the important things to remember about Brazil—lack of race prejudice. I see by my guidebook that perhaps one half of the population is white, and that most of the whites live in this southern part of the country.

In the short time we have been here we have visited the Botanical Gardens, have gone in the aerial car to the top of Sugar Loaf Mountain, and have taken another scenic old railway line, the first opened in Brazil, up to Petropolis, where the former emperor once had his summer residence and capital. It is cooler in the mountains than here in the city, for Rio is in the tropical zone. You recognize the tropics by the soft, warm air and the vines, flowers, shrubs, and palm trees that grow in abundance everywhere.

From this point we could take a train north, if we wanted to run out into the wilderness of the Brazilian tropics and end nowhere. Or we could take a passenger ship up the coast, if we wanted to spend days at sea in the rain and heat. Instead we are to take to the air once more and fly across the country to the north coast. That will cost us quite a few cruzeiros, but Uncle says it will be worth it. Already we have come so far north from Argentina that I feel as if we must be getting close to home, but it is five thousand miles north and west from Rio back to Miami, our starting point. As much as I hate to leave this dreamland, I am glad we are to start homeward tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,

Robert



Port of Spain, Trinidad

My dear Friends,

We are stopping here between planes. But perhaps you do not know where "here" is. We are on an island off the coast of Venezuela. Since the island belongs to Britain, and the town is British, and the airplanes are mostly those of our own Pan American line, there would not be much of great interest to write about if it were not for the grand flight we have made across Brazil.

From Rio we went almost due north over the jungle to Belém, at the mouth of the Amazon River. I am glad our ship did not let us down among the forests and rivers we passed over! They say that if you cut a road through that jungle the brush will grow up and hide it completely by the next day, which I suspect is stretching the truth only a little. By flying across country we missed São Salvador, which was long the colonial capital. According to my guidebook it is an interesting old city of beautiful churches and "cliff dwelling" Negroes. We also missed Recife, another old city located near the eastern tip of Brazil. Since that part of the country is in the center of the tropical zone, the products are sugar, cocoa, coconuts, and tobacco.

We did stop off at Belém, the gateway to the vast Amazon Valley. We saw several steamboats on the river, and Uncle Adrian said the first line of river steamers was started here as long ago as 1853. A rubber boom in the valley once made Belém a thriving place, but when Brazil lost its rubber market Belém turned to nuts. Yes, I mean it. Brazil nuts and all other kinds of nuts are brought down the rivers in dugouts and other boats and shipped from Belém to the United States. The people there are hopeful now that they may build up their rubber industry again. Henry Ford has a big rubber plantation not far away.

Soon we flew from Belém northwestward and said good-by to Brazil. It is a great country, a little larger than the United States, but much of it has still to be opened up. Most of the forty-five million people live in the south and along the coast. That leaves an enormous undeveloped interior, and I cannot help wondering what great riches may be hidden there, and whether men will someday find a way to make farms and cities in that wilderness.

We hopped across French, Dutch, and British Guiana, a slightly developed area wedged in between Brazil and Venezuela; then to this crossroads of the air. We have only two more countries to visit, and then these travel-weary tourists will head for home.

Your friend,
Bob



Caracas, Venezuela

Dear North American Neighbors,

Have you saved the picture postcards that I have sent you? If so you should have a good collection now. Put these from Venezuela under glass and frame. They cost me dearly in comparison with the others. Everything is expensive here; or, in other words, our money when changed to bolívares does not buy as much as in the other countries. They say that the low

value of United States dollars here is caused by the pouring of our money into this country for the purchase of oil. But odd as it seems, the people are mostly poor farmers. They make their living from coffee, sugar, and cattle and do not seem to profit much from their rich oil fields. This is a fairly large country, as large as California, Nevada, and Utah put in one, but it is mountainous and not heavily populated.

Once more we are among the Indians. Less than one twentieth of the residents are white. This city, Caracas, is inland six miles, but to reach it from the airport on the coast we traveled twenty miles on a winding mountain road. We might have come up on a mountain railway built by Englishmen and North Americans sixty years ago. Here as elsewhere in the tropics a little altitude makes life much more comfortable. Caracas is rather attractive because of its red-tile roofs and sidewalks, its beautiful old churches and residences, and its

During the Second World War many young Venezuelan officers were trained at Randolph Field in the United States

Acme



parks and monuments. This is the birthplace of Bolívar, the Liberator, and to remind us of it there is a large statue of him in the center of the Plaza.

Must start packing again, for the thousandth time.

In haste,

Robert



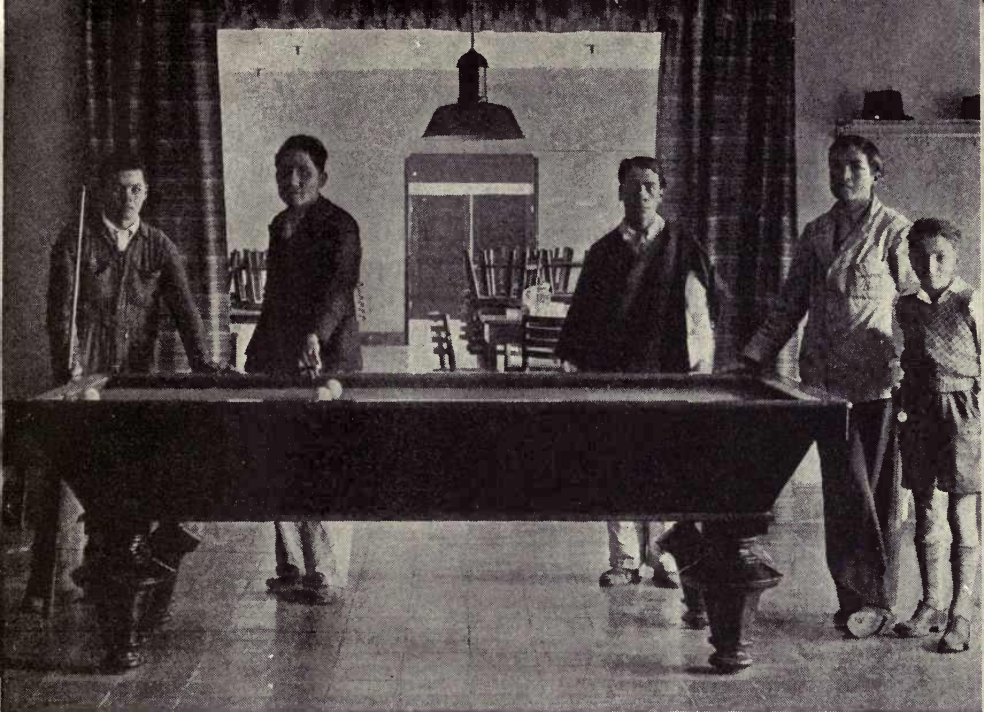
Barranquilla, Colombia

Dear Friends,

On our way westward from Caracas we followed the north coast of South America and dropped down only once, at Maracaibo in Venezuela. It is a town of widely scattered reed and mud huts and windmills, built on a hot, sandy plain. The oil fields across the lake are the only attraction of any importance. I wanted to go to see them, but my uncle hurried us on. He insisted that he had seen enough of those oil fields years ago when he worked there. They were what first brought him to South America.

Now we are at another great airport, another crossroads of the air, here on the coast of Colombia. We touched on this country once before, you will remember, when starting down the west coast. This republic is the only one in South America that has both Atlantic and Pacific coast lines. This is fortunate, because they say the ranges of mountains between the two coasts can be crossed at very few places except by plane.

After we landed at this modern city, Barranquilla, we took a side trip by plane to Bogotá and back. It is the capital of Colombia and, like most of the Andean capitals, is located high in the mountains. Before the days of airplanes it was reached only by a long voyage up the Magdalena River and then by mule up the steep Andes. Like other similar cities it has a beautiful setting and many interesting old landmarks. Though we saw Negroes along the coast, there seemed to be none in the capital. The people are whites and Indians, the two groups living more apart than in Mexico and the other countries where



© C. P. Welmer from Three Lions

These young workers are having a game of pool
in the recreation room of a cement plant near Bogotá

Indian blood is prominent. The Indians occupy the poorer part of the city—the mud huts and dirty streets on the fringe. In this locality they do not wear the colorful clothing we have seen elsewhere.

Now we are back at the airport and soon shall say farewell to Colombia. It certainly is a rugged country, and I see by my guidebook that nine million people live in this part of the Andes mountains. They send out coffee and some platinum, gold, emeralds, bananas, and oil. Now, too, they are sending us on our way with pleasant memories.

At the airport here we shall step into a big seaplane, fly straight north across the Caribbean Sea and Cuba, and step out at Miami. Then home again! I wonder if you will know me when you see me, I have been gone so long.

There will be a lot to talk about, things I have forgotten to write to you or have barely mentioned. All told, it has been a grand trip in spite of the money-changing and the customs inspections. My ideas about the Latin Americans have changed in many ways. No longer can I lump them all together as I did before. There have been so many surprises all along the way, in different climates, different products, different peoples. Again and again I have seen town plazas, beautiful parks and churches, Spanish-style residences, adobe and bamboo huts, and poor hard-working natives. I shall never forget my vivid impressions, and I only wish that more of these friendly people had the means to visit our country.

This will be my last letter. I am writing Mother to put on some beef and noodles as soon as she sees me coming. We have had plenty to eat, and in great variety, but nothing like the dinners Mother cooks.

So long, and see you soon,

Robert Eden



Activities

TO DISCUSS . Many questions have been raised in your minds by the sights seen on our tour. We give some of them below. You are not expected to answer them now, but you should ponder them, discuss them, and consider what you will need to read in order to answer them.

1. Why do not these republics unite into one great confederation?

2. Why is there so much undeveloped land in South America?

3. Why is the rainfall in Brazil and the Caribbean area so heavy?

4. How is the belt of desert in west-central South America to be accounted for?

5. Why should we call the lands to the south Latin America, when actually there are more Indians and Negroes in this area than there are white people of Latin descent?

6. How does it happen that there is so large an Indian and Negro population in parts of Latin America?

7. Why is the color line in Brazil less pronounced than in our own country?

8. Why do Brazilians speak Portuguese?

9. How does it happen that in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay the white race predominates?

10. Why are there few great manufacturing industries in Middle and South America?

11. Why did the people to the south of us learn self-government so slowly?

12. Why are the Latin Americans proud of their civilization?

13. Why should some of the people of Middle and South America prefer not to be called Latin Americans?

14. Why might some Latin Americans think that the people of the United States are a crude, money-mad people?

15. Why should many of us have had the unfair notion that the Latin Americans are lazy?

16. Why have many of the Latin Americans been suspicious of our "Good Neighbor" policy?

17. Why have the countries in Middle America co-operated with us more readily than the countries far to the south?

18. Why have our financiers and our government lent money to the Latin American republics? Why have our doctors, engineers, and teachers gone there to live?

19. What have the Latin Americans supplied to the United States?

20. Have any Latin Americans fallen under the spell of communism? Nazism?

21. What regions of Latin America seem to have a promising future? Why?

TO WRITE . 1. From some point on Robert's tour plan a side trip to one of the important places he missed. Then from

information given in the books below write two of your own travel letters to the class.

2. From a correspondence bureau mentioned in the Appendix obtain the names and addresses of some Latin American students and open correspondence with them.

3. Prepare a list of the questions you intend to ask Robert on his return.

TO TELL · 1. From the reading of recent magazine articles, tell the class how current events are creating changes in travel conditions.

2. If possible, write to a travel bureau or a railway company or visit a customs or consular office, and report to the class on travel regulations.

3. Call on a friend who has been in Latin America, ask about the interesting things seen, and report to the class.

TO DO · 1. Start a class collection of stamps and coins of Latin American countries.

2. If you can find a used passport, bring this to class.

3. Collect picture postcards sent home by friends who have toured the lands to the south, and arrange them in an album.

4. From steamship companies, airlines, and railways obtain travel folders for display on the bulletin board.

5. Begin building up a file of newspaper clippings about current events in Latin America. If this is well done, it will be useful later.

6. Organize a Pan American club in your school. You might have each member represent a country, city, or product, read up on it, and prepare to be an "authority" in a quiz program to be held later in the term.

7. Make a list of Spanish place names in our own Southwest, and then, using Robert's pocket rules, practice the pronunciation of the names.

8. On an outline map mark the route of Robert's tour and of the side trips you would make, naming the places visited and

marking the interesting historic sites and the approximate distances between stopping points.

9. Draw a cartoon of an interesting or amusing incident in Robert's tour, or one that you have read about in some of our books.

TO DEFINE · Middle America, Central America, Caribbean area, Hispanic America, Latin America, Pan America.

TO PRONOUNCE · Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the Portuguese words in your list, using the following rules, which were prepared by Dr. Max L. Basemann, Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages, University of Kansas City.

Accent

Usually on *next to the last* syllable.

On *last syllable* if word ends with *l, r, z*, a diphthong, or a nasal sound (except *am* and *em*).

Or, *exceptions*, as shown by accent mark.

Vowels

a, as in "far," except that a final *a* or an *a* before *m* or *n* is pronounced as in "idea."

e, at the end of a syllable and/or with circumflex accent (^), as in "hey." Or, within a syllable and/or with acute accent ('), as in "met."

i, as in "machine."

o, usually as in "hole"; sometimes as in "nor"; but a final *o* without accent, as in "do."

u, as in "tabu," but before another vowel it is *w*.

Any vowel followed by *m* or *n*, if at the end of a word or before another consonant, becomes nasal; that is, the regular vowel sound terminates in an *ng* sound, as in "sing."

Consonants

b, c, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, v, z, as in English. Note that *c* is an *s* before *e* or *i*; otherwise *k*.

ch, as in "Chicago."

g, as in English, except that before *e* or *i* it is *zh*.

j, like *zh*.

lh, like *lli* in "William."

nh, like *ni* in "onion."

qu, like *k* when before *e* or *i*; otherwise as in "quality."

s, as in English, except that it is a *z* at the end of a word or before *b, d, g, l, m, n*, or *r*, or when between vowels.

x has five pronunciations. See lists of words containing *x*, in standard Portuguese grammars.

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PECK, ALICE M. *Roundabout South America*. Harper & Brothers, New York.

STRODE, HUDSON. *South by Thunderbird*. Random House, Inc., New York.

YOUNG, ERNEST. *South American Excursion*. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

SECOND UNIT

TWENTY NATIONS

South of us lie twenty American nations. Ten of them are in South America; the remaining ten are in the area called Middle America, which is really part of North America. Thus our exploration of

the other American lands requires some knowledge of the geography of two continents.

We shall see that the two continents have some general similarities in shape and in surface features. However, they have some great differences with respect to climate and natural resources. These differences make parts of the neighboring lands seem to us to belong in a strange, distant world. The life of the people is greatly affected by the kind of climate they live in and by the nature of the resources they have to work with. Naturally, then, it is helpful to know what makes some regions of Latin America so different from others and so different from our own country.

After we have had a broad view of the two continents and their main regions, we shall be ready to visit the twenty countries again, in the order that Robert followed. Suppose you were asked to prepare a handbook of useful information about those countries. What should be included? Certainly you would want to say something about the size, shape, climate, regions, and population of each country. You would note the principal cities, the transportation lines, the leading industries, and the products exported and imported. You would be interested in the form of government and the work, homes, and social life of the people.

Robert mentioned some of these things, but he visited only parts of the many nations. There is much to be added in order to complete our handbook.



A physical map of Middle America

TWO CONTINENTS

Some of us are not aware that South America lies to the east of North America. A line drawn south from Atlanta, Georgia, would cross Central America and run down the Pacific side of the southern continent without touching it at any point. This difference in location places the eastern part of South America nearer to Africa than to any other continent. It is only 1800 miles across the Atlantic from the eastern point of Brazil to the west coast of Africa. Moreover, eastern South America is closer to Europe than to the United States.

The two continents, North and South America, are roughly triangular in shape, and each triangle has its base at the north and its apex at the south. In other words, the wide part of North America is near the north pole and the narrow part approaches the equator, whereas the broad area of South America is at the equator and the narrow section extends toward the south pole. This difference in position is extremely important in that it brings the wide areas of the two continents into greatly different climatic zones. But since surface features also affect the climate, they will be described next.



A physical map of South America

The surfaces of the two American continents have several similar features. A young, rugged mountain range runs the length of both western coasts. Since these mountains rise almost abruptly from the bed of the Pacific, there is practically no coastal plain on the western side of either continent. In the eastern part of the continents, North America has its Appalachian Mountains and South America its Guiana Highlands and Brazilian Highlands, averaging three to five thousand feet in

height. The coastal plain along the Atlantic is at places wider than that along the Pacific. In addition, the coast is more broken, creating some useful harbors. In the interior, between the two mountain ranges, both continents have wide river valleys where the surface is rolling and the soil very rich. Finally, part of the interior in both cases is a broad, flat plain—the Great Plains of North America and the Pampas of Argentina.

There are, however, many features of the land surface of the two continents that differ greatly. The western mountains of North America are divided into two widely separated ranges which merge into one range in southern Mexico. The great inland plateau of that country lies in the V formed by this merger. Thence to the south there is but one great range. It drops low on the Isthmus of Panama, but rises higher than ever in South America. There the Andes mountains average in many sections about 20,000 feet in height, and in Chile, alone, nineteen peaks rise even higher. The altitude is thus nearly two miles above that of the Rockies in North America. In some areas there are two or three ranges separated by narrow, lofty plateaus.

Another difference between the continents appears in the east, where the coast of North America is much broken by bays and rivers and has a wide coastal plain. Part of that coast long ago sank below the level of the Atlantic, forming the Gulf of Mexico. To the east the many islands of the West Indies are the tops of old mountains protruding above the sea. The east coast of South America has little to correspond to this. Neither does South America have a group of lakes and interconnecting waterways corresponding to the Great Lakes of the northern continent. Thus it may readily be seen why the interior of South America has been more difficult to explore and occupy. When conditions of climate are added to the physical features the contrasts between the two continents become even more pronounced. Observe them carefully.

Temperature, wind, and rainfall make our climate. The equatorial or tropical climate is exceedingly warm and moist.



Moore-McCormack Lines

Few people ever climb as high as do these Indian workers every day to reach these coca (from which cocaine is made) fields in Bolivia

The temperate climate, in the region immediately north and south of the tropical belt, is moderate and variable. Far inland in the temperate zone the variations in temperature from day to night and from summer to winter are more extreme than near the oceans. Finally, beyond the temperate zone, in the circle surrounding each pole, are the cold regions where daytime lasts all summer and night all winter.

Heat and rising air currents cause heavy rainfall where the winds are laden with moisture. In a general way the air moves in currents influenced by the climatic zones. In the tropics the winds blowing toward the equator from northeast and southeast are called the trade winds. In the temperate regions the circular or spiral currents, known as cyclonic disturbances, move from west to east and are called the prevailing westerlies. In the belts between tropical and temperate zones the air settles; that is, it descends from upper currents to the earth's surface. This produces areas of calms, or settling air currents,

where, because the air's capacity to *hold* moisture is increased as it settles, there is ordinarily little rainfall. On the other hand, in regions where winds rise they lose their moisture and produce rainfall. There is heavy rain, then, where the air rises over warm ocean currents, over warm land masses, or up over mountain ranges.

Now we may apply the climatic conditions just described. In Latin America the entire region from Cuba and central Mexico to southern Brazil and southern Bolivia is in the tropics. There the warm moisture-laden trade winds bring heavy rainfall to the entire east coast and to the inland valleys and the eastern slopes of the mountain ranges. At some points the rainfall is more than 200 inches a year. It is these rains, draining down from the Andes and the great interior valley of Brazil, that pour out to sea in the mighty Amazon River. That river, 4000 miles long, drains one fourth of the area of South America. The heavy rains also provide the source of other large rivers—the Orinoco of Venezuela and the Magdalena of Colombia, and the Paraná and Paraguay, which flow southward to the Plata of Argentina.

The monotonous heat and humidity of the tropics produce conditions which thus far have made that region one of the most difficult for white men to live in. Unfortunately a great part of South America lies within the tropical belt, and two thirds of the total land area is less than 1000 feet above sea level. Fortunately, however, there are two conditions which relieve the situation somewhat. One is the presence of high mountain ranges and plateaus in this tropical region, and in them the altitude breaks the equatorial heat. The second is a cool ocean stream, the Humboldt Current, which flows along the western coast of South America and tempers the climate of Peru. However, this current contributes to the extreme aridity of that coast, because the cool water causes the air to settle and absorb moisture. Even without this "last straw," the west coast of Peru would be dry, since the trade winds, coming from the southeast, lose their moisture in crossing the mountains before reaching western Peru. Likewise in Mexico the interior plateau



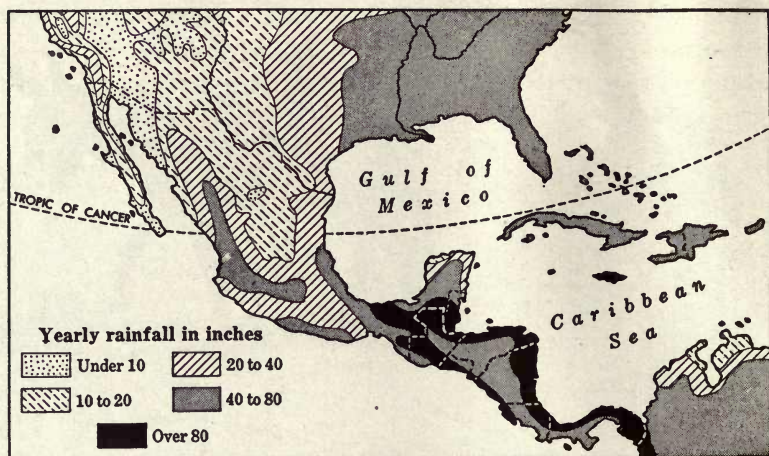
Grace Line

One of the many arid sections to be found in various parts of South America

is dry, because the trade winds must rise over mountain ranges on their way inland. Thus in the tropical regions there are conditions which create cool, arid, and semiarid areas where otherwise the usual tropical conditions would prevail.

Directly north and south of the broad tropical zone are America's desert and semiarid regions, where normally the settling air currents drop negligible rainfall. There are two such belts. One crosses northern Mexico, and the other covers Bolivia, northern Chile, southern Peru, and northern Argentina. In those regions, though the climate is fairly temperate, life is difficult. There is a thin, sandy soil, a poor water supply, and only a scrubby plant growth, except along the few rivers. An arid region also extends west from the shoulder of Brazil.

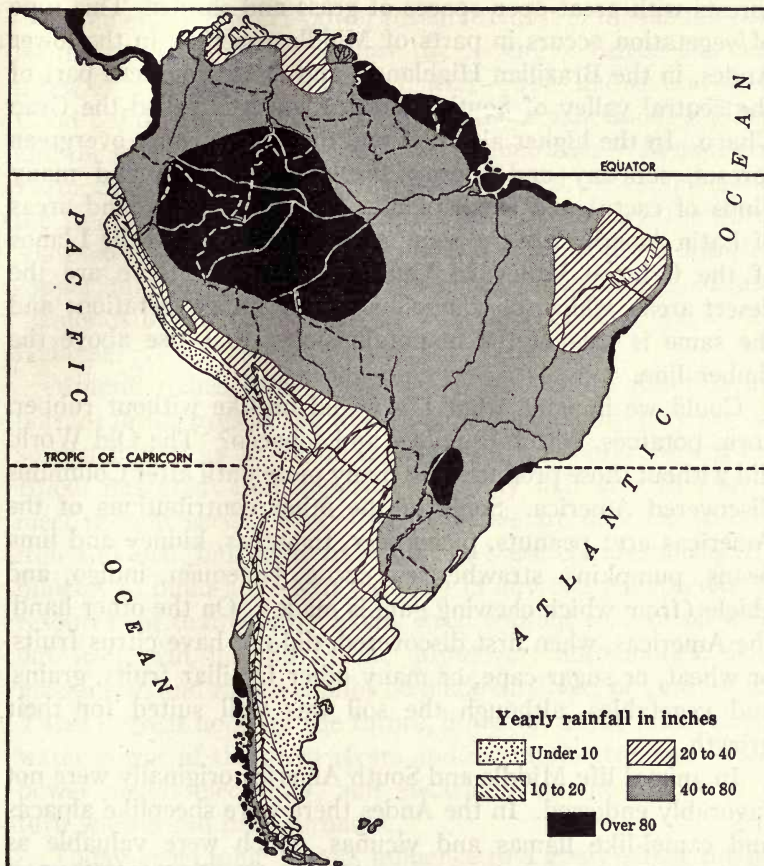
Finally, beyond the desert belt in each continent and on the side nearest the pole are the temperate lands best suited to development by white men. Most of the United States lies in such a zone, but in all Latin America only Uruguay, a little of Brazil, and the central and southern parts of Chile and Argentina are so favored. Moreover, in Chile the prevailing west-



Map showing average annual rainfall

erlies, crossing the high Andes, lose so much of their moisture on the west slopes that most of Argentina has less rainfall than is normal for the temperate zone. Thus the climate of central Chile is similar to that of California, while the western part of the plains of Argentina has a climate like that of our own Great Plains. Eastern Argentina, however, has abundant rainfall.

Now that we have in mind the general picture of the climatic zones, we shall have to disturb it in order to make allowance for another factor. The zones, which appear fixed on the map, are not so in reality. As the axis of the earth tilts back and forth each year, it moves the equator north to central Mexico during our summer and south to southern Brazil during our winter. All the zones move north and south a like distance from season to season. Consequently even the high Mexican plateau has some tropical rains in the summer, while California is temporarily in the arid belt. Likewise, in our winter, when the zones have moved southward, southern Brazil and northern Argentina are having their summer rains and central Chile is dry. Only in the heart of the tropics of northern Brazil and on the very high mountain plateaus do the seasonal changes have little effect.



Map showing average annual rainfall

Climate and soil determine the type of wild life to be found in any region. In tropical America there are dense hardwood forests, the greatest in the world. The trees are covered with vines and flowers, forming a solid overhead canopy for the almost impenetrable underbrush beneath. The whole is a musty, gloomy mass, dangerous to man but rich in timber, nuts, and dyewoods. Where mountain altitudes break the tropics, and where the tropics merge into temperate areas, there are scrubby

forests with great open spaces of grass and shrubs. This type of vegetation occurs in parts of Middle America, in the lower Andes, in the Brazilian Highlands, and in the southern part of the central valley of South America, which is called the Gran Chaco. In the higher altitudes and drier regions are evergreen forests, scrawny and thorny shrubs, grasslands, and many kinds of cactus and small plants. The major grassland areas of Latin America are the Pampas of Argentina and the Llanos of the Orinoco Valley in Venezuela. Finally there are the desert areas, which, of course, have very little vegetation; and the same is true of the mountain slopes that rise above the timber line.

Could we imagine what life would be like without rubber, corn, potatoes, cotton, quinine, and tobacco? The Old World did without those products and many more until after Columbus discovered America. Some of the other contributions of the Americas are: peanuts, pineapples, tomatoes, kidney and lima beans, pumpkins, strawberries, cocoa, henequén, indigo, and chicle (from which chewing gum is made). On the other hand, the Americas, when first discovered, did not have citrus fruits, or wheat, or sugar cane, or many other familiar fruits, grains, and vegetables, although the soil was well suited for their growth.

In animal life Middle and South America originally were not favorably endowed. In the Andes there were sheeplike alpacas and camel-like llamas and vicuñas, which were valuable as beasts of burden and producers of wool. The Indians also had dogs, but that is about the limit of the domesticated animals. There were no sheep, goats, horses, oxen, or donkeys until Europeans brought them over. In the rivers and coastal waters of North America edible fish abounded, but South America was deficient in this respect. On the other hand, Latin America had, and still has, many dangerous animals and reptiles—alligators, crocodiles, vampire bats, gila monsters, and boa constrictors. The forests are also infested with insect pests—mosquitoes, spiders, fleas, gnats, ants, locusts, ticks, and many others.

In mineral and water-power resources most of the lands to the south are well supplied. Before the coming of Europeans only a few of them—stone, gold, and silver—were known and used. Good building stone was obtained in the mountainous regions, and the precious metals were mined in quantities in Mexico and Peru. Since then the white men have tapped the oil fields and the iron, coal, copper, and zinc deposits of Mexico, the oil of Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru, the tin of Bolivia, the nitrates, copper, and coal of Chile, the iron, coal, manganese, gold, and diamonds of Brazil, and the bauxite, or aluminum ore, of the Guianas.

Mineral riches have made Middle and South America important in the eyes of the world, but unfortunately they are not so distributed as to be most useful to the Latin Americans. Brazil has great iron deposits, but only half enough coal to meet present needs. The other countries are deficient in both iron and coal, but many have oil. In these circumstances it is difficult to build a modern industry in any one country on the resources of that country alone. Iron without coal, or oil without iron, will not do much. Moreover, automobiles, farm machinery, and radios cannot be made of silver, or gold, or tin. There is great hope for the future, however, in the undeveloped water power of the great rivers and mountain streams. Water power means electricity, and electricity can be employed to turn wheels and heat furnaces.

Today geographic factors influence to a great extent the life of the people in each country. Moreover, ever since the discovery of America they have affected greatly the history of these continents. The trade winds carried ships from Europe to the Indies, and the prevailing westerlies aided the return voyage. Brazil lay close to Africa and was thus not far from the path of Portuguese traders. For the Spaniards the West Indies provided attractive, easily conquered steppingstones leading to the mainland. The harbors of the east coast made access to the mainland easy from the Atlantic approach. Midway of the two continents a narrow isthmus provided a way of crossing to the western shores. To the north and south were



James Sawders

In the highlands of Peru the traveler will meet many pack trains of llamas

high plateaus where the climate appealed to the Spaniards and the wealth of precious metals enticed them onward.

However, farther to the north, beyond Mexico, was a desert barrier that would hinder further expansion in that direction, and in South America to the east of the Andes the jungles were forbidding. In the far southern region good farming land awaited cultivation; yet the nature of the continent everywhere hindered cross-country development; the approach to any country could best be made by sea. Consequently the coastal regions were occupied long before the interior. In the course of that occupation many resources were found. The new plant products and the great mineral wealth were destined to play an important part in the world's history.

THE ISLAND REPUBLICS

CUBA · The long island called Cuba is the part of Latin America lying nearest to the populous eastern region of the United States. It is on the ship routes and air lanes leading from our country to the more distant parts of Latin America.

The island averages 50 to 60 miles in width and is nearly 800 miles long—about the distance from New York to Chicago. The land area of 44,000 square miles, nearly the same as that of Pennsylvania, supports a population of four and a quarter million, or the number of people living in New Jersey. Nearly three fourths of the inhabitants are white; the remainder are Negroes and mulattoes.

The eastern fourth of the country is mountainous, with some peaks rising 8000 feet high. From this region come most of Cuba's minerals—manganese, copper, chrome, and iron. There is also a smaller range, the Trinidad Mountains, in central Cuba, and another low range at the western end of the island. The remainder of the surface is gently sloping. Since the temperature varies between 60 and 98 degrees and the rainfall averages a little more than 50 inches a year, the climate is quite temperate, favorable for the production of a great variety of crops. However, sugar cane has long been the principal one, and in 1938 sugar accounted for four fifths of the total exports. Tobacco exports, next in importance, made up a tenth of the total, and the remainder included bananas, hides, rum, and minerals.

Cuba's principal cities are connected by a good railway and a paved highway, both of which run the full length of the island. The mileage of the central railway and other lines is a little over 3000, and the highways measure more than 2000 miles, nearly all paved.

As provided in the constitution of 1940, this republic has a president and vice president who are elected for four-year terms. Although there is also a legislative assembly having two houses, the government is a unitary republic, or one in which the president has extraordinary power. The constitution pro-

FACTS AND FIGURES: MIDDLE AMERICA

Country	Area (Square Miles)	Population and Races	Conqueror and Date	Inde- pend- ence	National Hero	Head of Government, 1943	Railway Mileage
<i>Island Republics</i>							
1. CUBA	44,000	4½ million 75% white 25% Negro and mulatto	Diego Velásquez de León 1511	1898	José Martí	Fulgencio Batista	3,000
2. HAITI	11,000	3 million 95% Negro 5% mulatto	Bertrand d'Ogeron 1664	1804	Jean Jacques Dessalines	Élie Lescot	150
3. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	19,000	1½ million 50% Indian and mixed 25% white 25% Negro	Christopher Columbus 1493	1844 (from Haiti)	Juan Pablo Duarte	Rafael Leonidas Trujillo	400
<i>Below the Border</i>							
4. MEXICO	766,000	19½ million 60% mestizo 30% Indian 10% white	Hernando Cortés 1519-21	1821	Benito Juárez	Manuel Ávila Camacho	15,000
5. GUATEMALA	45,000	3½ million 65% Indian 34% mestizo 1% white	Pedro de Alvarado 1523	1821 from Spain;	Justo Rufino Barrios	Jorge Ubico	700
6. HONDURAS	44,000	1 million 99% Indian and Negro 1% white	Hernando de Saavedra 1525		Francisco Morazán	Tiburcio Carias Andino	800
7. EL SALVADOR	13,000	1½ million 80% mestizo 10% Indian 10% white	Pedro de Alvarado 1523	1823 from Mexico;	José Matías Delgado	Maximiliano Hernández Martínez	400
8. NICARAGUA	57,000	1½ million 90% mestizo 10% white and Negro	Francisco Hernández de Córdoba 1523	1839 separate states	None selected to 1943	Anastacio Somoza	450
9. COSTA RICA	23,000	650 thousand 80% white 20% mixed	Gil González Dávila 1522		Juan Rafael Mora	Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia	400
10. PANAMA	29,000	650 thousand 40% mestizo 12% white 11% Negro 7% Indian 30% others	Alonso de Ojeda 1509	1903	Tomás Herrera	Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia	100

FACTS AND FIGURES: MIDDLE AMERICA

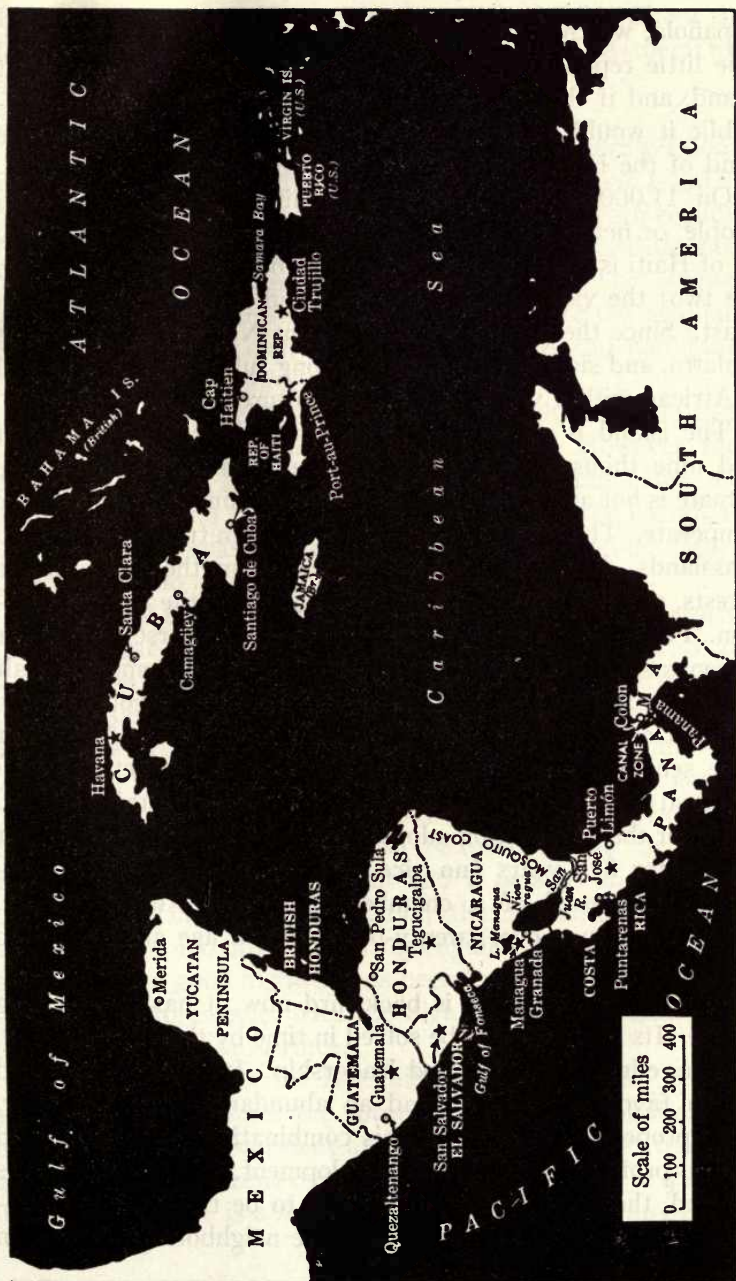
Exports, 1939	Exports to	Imports, 1939	Imports from	Chief Cities	Popular Music
\$148 million sugar tobacco food minerals	United States 75% Great Britain 12% Others 13%	\$106 million foods chemicals clothing machinery	United States 74% Others 26%	Havana, 569,000 Holguín, 141,000 Camagüey, 138,000 Santiago de Cuba, 107,000	habanero son bolero conga rumba
\$7 million coffee sugar sisal bananas cotton	United States 34% Great Britain 19% Others 47%	\$8 million clothing foods machinery	United States 62% Great Britain 11% Others 27%	Port-au-Prince, 115,000	meringue Vodoun songs
\$18 million sugar cacao coffee molasses	Great Britain 41% United States 25% Canada 16% Others 18%	\$12 million clothing machinery chemicals	United States 59% Japan 10% Others 31%	Ciudad Trujillo (once Santo Domingo), 71,000	bolero merengue
\$176 million gold silver lead zinc copper oil chicle	United States 74% Others 26%	\$122 million automobiles machinery cloth	United States 67% Others 33%	Mexico City, 1,465,000 Guadalajara, 228,000 Monterrey, 181,000 Puebla, 137,000 Mérida, 98,000	canción corrido huapango jarabe
\$17 million coffee bananas chicle	United States 71% Germany 11% Others 18%	\$15 million cloth machinery oil	United States 54% Germany 27% Others 19%	Guatemala City, 177,000 Quezaltenango, 30,000	son chapín (marimba instrument)
\$10 million bananas silver gold	United States 96% Others 4%	\$10 million machinery oil clothing	United States 76% Japan 6% Others 18%	Tegucigalpa, 47,000 San Pedro, 18,000	
\$13 million coffee minerals	United States 60% Germany 9% Others 31%	\$7 million clothing machinery	United States 53% Germany 17% Others 30%	San Salvador, 108,000 Santa Ana, 89,000 San Miguel, 48,000	
\$8 million gold coffee bananas	United States 76% Germany 11% Others 13%	\$6 million clothing machinery	United States 68% Germany 12% Others 20%	Managua, 119,000 León, 38,000	
\$9 million coffee bananas cacao	United States 46% Great Britain 17% Others 37%	\$17 million machinery clothing food	United States 59% Others 41%	San José, 76,000	
\$3 million bananas cacao	United States 35% Re-exports 51% Others 14%	\$20 million clothing machinery chemicals foods	United States 58% Japan 10% Germany 8% Others 24%	Panama, 128,000 Colón, 66,000	tamborito

vides for old-age insurance and other social-security measures, and it gives colored people equal rights with the whites. An especially interesting feature is the requirement that all citizens, women and men, must vote in the regular elections, or else pay a fine.

One of the problems of Cuba is its economic dependence on the United States. For example, in 1938 three fourths of the island's exports went to our country and three fourths of its imports came from the United States. Imports included foods and drinks, chemicals and drugs, building material, machinery, and clothing. By placing a quota limit on the amount of sugar that can be sent to the United States in any one year, our government thus limits the ability of Cubans to feed, house, and clothe themselves, and to ward off disease. Because of this limitation on sugar production, the people of the island are endeavoring to raise more of their own foodstuffs and to develop other products which they and we need. This effort was also stimulated by the outbreak of the Second World War, which hurt Cuba's foreign trade by diverting ships to the carrying of war materials. For this reason, trade statistics for Cuba and the other countries are given here for the years 1939 to 1940, the latest years of peacetime conditions.

Regardless of the development of other crops, sugar continues to be the island's mainstay. Although small farmers grow 80 per cent of the sugar, they are dependent upon the operator of the one mill in each locality. Of the 174 mills in Cuba in 1939, 67 were owned by proprietors in the United States, 33 by citizens of Spain, 19 by men in other countries, and only 55 by Cubans. Thus Cuba's sugar is complicated by foreign ownership of the sugar mills. For more reasons than one it is important to the Cubans to maintain friendly relations with us, and in the last analysis it is also important to us to keep the friendship of Cuba, because of our dependence on the products and defense bases of this near neighbor.

HAITI · Haiti, only about 50 miles across the Windward Channel from the eastern tip of Cuba, is on the island of



Central America and the West Indies

Española, which is about 400 miles long and 100 miles wide. The little republic of Haiti occupies the western part of that island, and if that part were cut off from the Dominican Republic it would have the shape of a rugged fishhook. In the bend of the hook is Port-au-Prince, capital of Haiti.

On 11,000 square miles of land live about three million people, or nearly three hundred to the square mile. Obviously all of Haiti is crowded, but the regions of greater concentration are two: the valley near the capital and another on the north coast. Since the people are 95 per cent Negro and 5 per cent mulatto, and since the country was long ruled by France, Haiti is African with a veneer of French culture.

The island is mountainous. In Haiti the ranges rise eight and nine thousand feet above the sea. In the lowlands the climate is hot and moist, but in high mountain valleys it is more temperate. The vegetation, then, varies from tropical forests to grasslands. The chief products come from the soil and the forests, and most of them are used to support the local population. Foreign trade is small, only about \$5 per person each year in contrast with \$60 per capita in Cuba. Coffee comprises half the total exports, and sugar, hemp, bananas, and cotton make up most of the other half. Of these exports about 52 per cent were sent to the United States in 1940; and in return Haiti obtained clothing, foodstuffs, and machinery from this country.

Under the constitution adopted in 1935 Haiti has a president elected for five years (no vice president) and a national assembly composed of a chamber of deputies and a senate. Women and men over twenty-one years of age are eligible to vote in the elections.

Although the country is backward now, it has a promising future. Its problems can be solved in time by the aid of capital, science, education, and good leadership. It has a fairly good soil, a favorable climate, and an abundant supply of labor. With proper encouragement this combination of assets should lead to profitable agricultural development. Until that stage is reached, the chief problem continues to be the excess population. This results in conflicts with the neighboring Dominican

Republic, for the Haitians drift across the border where they are not wanted. In 1937 nearly ten thousand of them were massacred by the Dominicans.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC . In the eastern portion of Española, in an area twice the size of Haiti, live 1,700,000 people, only a little over half as many as in the Negro republic. Half this population is part Indian or part Negro and the other half is divided between Negroes and whites. The language and customs are Spanish, however, because here the Spaniards founded their first colony in the New World and maintained control for three hundred years.

This part of the island is very rugged, with mountain peaks rising to 10,000 feet; some of it is rather arid. However, there are two lowlands, and here most of the inhabitants live. One lowland is a broad valley in the central part of the island, and the other is the coastal plain near the capital, Trujillo City, or Ciudad Trujillo as it is known to the natives.

The heavy rains and warm weather are good for the cultivation of sugar cane, especially on the southeast coast. Sugar, then, is the principal export, accounting for two thirds of all products shipped abroad in 1940. Cacao and coffee come next. Two fifths of the sales were to the British Empire, and only one fourth to the United States; but two thirds of the imports came from the United States. From us they were buying clothing, iron, and machinery. In 1940 the total value of the exports and imports amounted to about \$20 a person, or four times that of the Haitians. In addition the Dominican Republic could boast of 400 miles of railways against 150 miles in Haiti; and recently a good highway has been built the entire length of the country, to connect with the highway built by Haiti from the border to Port-au-Prince.

The government of the Dominican Republic under the constitution of 1924 takes the form of a unitary republic. The president and vice president are elected for four-year terms by a direct vote of citizens over eighteen years of age, or younger if married. There is a supreme court, and a legislature of two

houses, but the president exercises the main power in the government.

The Dominican Republic wants more settlers, but not Haitians. Instead, it is inviting refugees to come from Europe and take up homesteads on land obtained by dividing many of the enormous old estates in the sparsely settled regions. The first refugees to arrive, in May, 1940, included many nationalities of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith. This colony, numbering only 500 people, settled on Sosúa Bay on the north coast. The Republic offered to absorb 100,000 such refugees and give them financial aid until they could support themselves.

PUERTO RICO . Across the sea, about 75 miles east from Española, is the little island of Puerto Rico. A Spanish colony until 1898, it is still Hispanic in culture; but since it is now governed by the United States it usually is not included in the descriptions of Latin America.

SOUTH OF THE BORDER

MEXICO . Our neighbor next door is the third largest country in Latin America, and is about one fourth the size of the United States. On its 766,000 square miles of land live 20 million people, or about one sixth as many as in our country. A large proportion of them reside in the central part of the country. The people are predominantly Indian. Only about 10 per cent are white; 30 per cent are pure Indian, and the remaining 60 per cent are of mixed blood.

Mexico, shaped like a great curved horn, is mostly a tableland, dotted with mountains. It has seven principal regions:

1. The lower tableland, or plateau, in the north, which averages from three to four thousand feet above sea level. This part, located in the desert belt, has only a scrubby growth of grass and shrubs. It is used largely for cattle grazing, except where rich irrigated valleys produce cotton, fruit, and vegetables.

2. The high central plateau in the vicinity of Mexico City. It averages over 7000 feet in altitude and has a temperate climate, de-



Map showing the mountains and important cities of Mexico

lightful and healthful, but breath-taking because of the altitude. It is in this part of Mexico that the population is concentrated. The major products of this region are cattle, corn, and maguey, or century plant. The fiber from maguey stalks is used in the manufacture of cloth, and the liquid drawn from the plants is brewed into a strong drink, called pulque.

3. The eastern mountain slopes and narrow coastal plain. This is a steaming tropical region, with heavy timber and vegetation. The Indian population, living in bamboo huts with thatched roofs, subsists largely on corn and beans raised on the hillsides. Part of this region, however, is occupied by the rich oil fields in the vicinity of Tampico.

4. The western mountain slopes, likewise forested, and inhabited by natives.

5. The peninsula of Lower California, a desert plateau with sparse shrubs and grass, used largely for the grazing of cattle.

6. The southern mountain region, below Mexico City. This is an area of very rugged mountains, some of them active volcanoes. The tallest peak, Mt. Orizaba, is 18,700 feet high, the second highest mountain in North America.

7. The lowlands of the Yucatán Peninsula and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. This region is flat and tropical. Most of it has a dense forest from which hardwood lumber is obtained; but along the north coast, where the rainfall is slight, conditions are favorable for the cultivation of henequén.

Mexico has a fairly extensive transportation system. There are 15,000 miles of railways, and the main lines connect the capital with the Gulf ports and with the United States, crossing the border at Laredo, Eagle Pass, and El Paso, Texas, and at Douglas and Nogales in Arizona. There are 57,000 miles of improved highways, many of them paved and remarkably well built. The Pan American Highway extends from Laredo through Monterrey, Mexico City, and Oaxaca into Guatemala, and plans have been drawn for a branch to run up the west coast to California. In addition, Mexico is well served by local and international airlines.

The export products of Mexico are mostly minerals. In 1939 gold, silver, and lead each accounted for one eighth of the total, and zinc and copper one tenth each. Three quarters of these exports went to the United States; and about 70 per cent of Mexico's imports were bought from this country. The main imports were automobiles, iron, and machinery. The total value of foreign trade divided by the number of people gives about \$20 as the annual average per capita. In the United States the average is about \$40 per person.

The government of Mexico, as provided by the constitution of 1917, is a federal republic, or a union of thirty states, with the capital in a federal district, like our District of Columbia. The president and vice president are elected for six-year terms, and may not be re-elected immediately. The president's cabinet of fourteen members has ministers of education, health, police, public works, and public assistance, in addition to the offices like those in our own cabinet. The judges of the supreme court are appointed for life, and the members of the two legislative houses are elected. The privilege of voting is granted to all men over twenty-one years old, or over eighteen if they are married. The constitution provides for government ownership

of underground resources, for the right of the government to take over property considered important to the nation, for the right of labor to organize and to have minimum wages, and for many other social and economic reforms.

In resources Mexico has great variety and considerable wealth, particularly in precious metals; yet the majority of the people are poor. The reason is that less than 10 per cent of the land area is good for farming, and until recently most of this was owned by a few wealthy families. Another problem arises from the fact that because of its trade with the United States and the investments which our businessmen have made in Mexico it is closely tied to our country. Mexicans need our trade and our capital, but they also want to control their own resources. Other problems relate to the excessive concentration of the population in one part of the country, the poor diet and ill health of many of the people, and the high rate of illiteracy. The country is Spanish in language and customs, but even after occupation by white men for four hundred years, only half the people can read and write, and more than a million natives can speak nothing but their own Indian language. Mexico's efforts to solve its pressing problems recently produced a nationwide social revolution, in which attacks have been made simultaneously on all fronts—health, education, land, labor, industry, and government.

GUATEMALA . Immediately to the south of Mexico is a country about the size of Pennsylvania. It is Guatemala, our nearest neighbor in the area known as Central America. The republic borders on both the Caribbean and the Pacific, but the eastern seacoast is only about 70 miles long, whereas the southwestern coast has an extent of 200 miles. The 45,000 square miles of land are occupied by a total population of about three million and a quarter, or approximately the number of people living in Missouri. Two thirds of the population is pure Indian, and most of the other third is mixed. Only about one or two per cent are white. The main area of settlement is the southern and western half of the country.

Across the central and southern part of the country extend two mountain ranges eight to ten thousand feet high. They and the plateau lying between them form one of the main geographic regions. Here the rainfall averages about 45 inches a year, and the temperature varies from 45 to 85 degrees. The hills are forested with oaks and evergreens. The other region, the lowland north and east of the mountains, slopes gradually northeastward onto the Yucatán Peninsula. This part of the country, hot and wet, has rich tropical forests which yield chicle and valuable mahogany and cedar timber. The mineral resources of the country are insignificant.

From the 100 million coffee trees in the western and southern part of Guatemala comes the nation's leading export. Bananas, second in importance, are raised mainly on the northeast coast. However, because a disease destroyed many of the trees there, new plantations have recently been opened in the southwestern region. The third export in value is chicle, a juice obtained from a tropical tree, from which our chewing gum is made. These three products make up almost the entire export trade, and in 1939 71 per cent of the shipments went to the United States. From us Guatemala bought that year a little over half its imported products, mostly clothing and machinery. The per capita foreign trade in 1939 was about \$16, but only a small proportion of the people were affected very much by this. Most of them raise corn for their food and make their own clothing and household supplies in their homes or in small shops. They need little more than this, because much of the nation is still quite primitive.

Since 1928 the national government has been headed by a president, who is given broad powers and holds office for a six-year term, without eligibility for re-election. The lawmaking assembly has only one house, but there is also a council of state of seven men, who act as advisers to the governing officers.

Guatemala has many problems; among them a high rate of illiteracy, the undeveloped state of the country, and the inadequate transportation system. There are only about 700 miles of railways and 3500 miles of roads, mostly mere cart tracks.



United Fruit Co.

This public washing place in a beautiful spot in Guatemala is very ancient

The country suffers from destructive earthquakes; in 1773 a bad one completely demolished the former capital, Antigua. Always serious, too, is the problem arising from the ownership by foreigners of over half the large, productive farms and the concentration in the hands of a few rich natives of most of the rest. However, with more capital and a greater supply of labor the country might well advance from its present frontier stage and become a rich agricultural region. Meanwhile it continues,

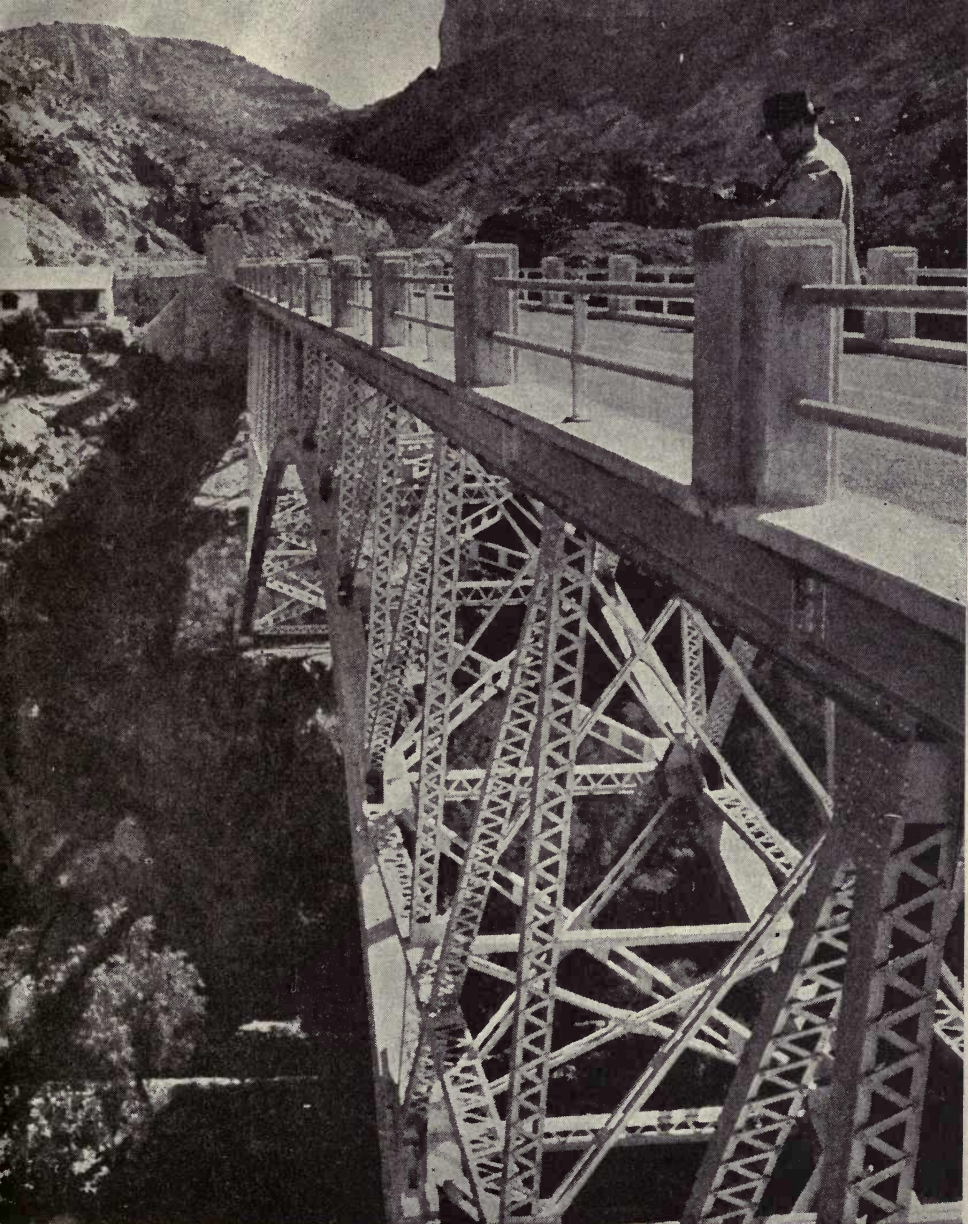
to a greater extent than any other Latin American country, to be a nation of Indians whose language and rulers are Spanish but whose way of life is still essentially Indian.

BRITISH HONDURAS . Northeast of Guatemala, cutting it off from much of the Carribbéan coast, is British Honduras. In this colony a mixed population of Indians, whites, and Negroes cut timber products from the tropical forests.

HONDURAS . East of Guatemala lies the triangular territory of Honduras, another nation about the size of Pennsylvania. On the north it has a long seacoast, measuring about 400 miles, but on the south it borders on the Pacific only at the Gulf of Fonseca. The population is about 1,000,000, equal approximately to that of Oregon. Most of the people are Indian or mixed, one or two per cent are white, and on the north coast there are many Negroes.

The geographic regions are similar to those of Guatemala; mountains and plateaus in the south and west and plains in the north. The northern and eastern regions are torrid and wet, but the southern and western regions have a climate tempered somewhat by the altitude. At Tegucigalpa the mean temperature is 75 degrees, and from November to April the climate is agreeable. The rest of the year is the rainy season. From the northern and eastern regions come the bananas, which account for two thirds of the total value of exports each year. From the south the principal products for shipment abroad are the silver and gold from the mines near the capital. Of all the exports, 96 per cent went to the United States in 1940; and in return Honduras obtained from the United States three fourths of its imports of clothing and machinery. As in Guatemala, the per capita foreign trade is about \$16 a year, but only a small part of the population benefits from it.

Under the constitution of 1936 the national government is composed of a president, elected for six years, a cabinet, a supreme court, and a one-house legislature.



James Sawders

In parts of Latin America the extension of the Pan American Highway means the building of expensive bridges

One of the plagues of life in Honduras is malaria, against which precautions must be taken constantly. Another difficulty arises from the scattered pattern of the population. The people of the many villages and valleys are not in close touch with one another, and consequently are not united in spirit. The sparsity of population makes the maintenance of transportation lines difficult and expensive. Honduras has only about 800 miles of railways and 500 miles of roads. Now the country is trying to solve this problem by extensive use of the airplane. By 1940 Honduras had seventy-five airports scattered throughout the country. Another problem is the low literacy rate, due to the primitive state of the people. In addition, the ownership of most of the banana plantations by an American company has been a mixed blessing. This has placed the principal export crop in the hands of United States capitalists, who thus have been in a position to control the finances of Honduras. On the other hand, it has led to the development of a great export industry. Honduras needs more such development and will continue to look to outside capital for aid in building up the economic life of the nation.

EL SALVADOR . Of the twenty-one American countries El Salvador is next to the smallest in size. The area is only a little greater than that of Haiti, the smallest. However, it supports nearly two million people, or an average of more than 130 to the square mile. About 80 per cent of the people are mestizos. Only ten per cent are white, and the remainder are pure Indian.

In Central America El Salvador is the only country lying solely on the Pacific. It extends roughly east and west for 160 miles in the mountain range that continues eastward from Guatemala. The range averages about 3000 feet in altitude, but fourteen of the peaks are active volcanoes, and one of them rises 8000 feet above the sea. Naturally the coastal region is very hot, but in the mountain valleys the temperature range is from 50 to 97 degrees. The climate is pleasant, except during the rainy season from May to November.

The prosperity of the country depends on its 120 million coffee trees. The ability to support a large population in a small area is due to the prevalence of small farmers. The big estates have been broken up into small tracts, and thus many people share the profits more fully. In 1939 60 per cent of the exports, which also include some gold and silver, went to the United States, and over half the imported clothing and machinery came from our country. Since the per capita foreign trade of El Salvador was then only about \$12 a year, it is evident that other factors aided in the support of the dense population. These were the cultivation of food crops on the many small farms and the manufacture of many wares in local industries. Moreover, little El Salvador has a good transportation system. There are nearly 400 miles of railways and about 1600 miles of national highways.

The constitution of 1936 provides for a one-house legislature and the election of a president every six years. All men are required by law to vote. The other branch of the government is the supreme court. Spanish is the official language, as in the neighboring countries, but here English is also widely used.

With all their advancement and prosperity, however, the people of El Salvador have much to contend with. They live in constant danger from earthquakes and active volcanoes. Moreover, because they live in a one-crop country, the loss of a single year's crop or of one of its foreign markets would be disastrous.

NICARAGUA . The largest country of Central America is Nicaragua, which has about 57,000 square miles of land surface, or approximately the area of Georgia. It has a population, however, of only a little over a million, much less than that of El Salvador. Nine tenths of these people, who are mixed Indians and whites with an occasional strain of African, live in a small triangle bounded by the Pacific coast and lakes Nicaragua and Managua. Outside this area of concentration the population is sparse and widely scattered. On the eastern coast it includes some Negroes.



Ewing Galloway

In this little section of a banana plantation in San José, Costa Rica, live the native plantation workers. The schoolhouse is in the foreground

Nicaragua has a northern mountain range and another on the west coast. In the triangle between them is a plateau, which slopes off eastward to merge with the low, wide plain on the eastern coast, called the Mosquito Coast. The winds that sweep inward from this coast drop a heavy rainfall on the plains and on the eastern slopes of the mountains. In some places the rainfall is 200 inches a year, which produces a dense tropical forest. Bananas are grown on the eastern plain, but the area best suited to cultivation is west of the mountains, out of the region of heavy rainfall. Here coffee and cattle and some bananas are raised, and the mines yield considerable gold. The principal exports, then, are gold, coffee, and bananas, in that order. In 1939 the United States took over three fourths of

the total, and in return supplied two thirds of Nicaragua's imports, consisting mainly of clothing and machinery. The annual per capita foreign trade amounted to \$17 in 1939, about the same as that of the other countries of Central America.

The national government, as provided by the constitution of 1939, has a president who serves a four-year term and is the commander of the military officers who are in charge of the fifteen departments into which the nation is divided. The constitution also provides for a two-house legislature, a cabinet of seven ministers, and a supreme court.

Nicaragua has problems similar to those of Honduras and Guatemala. The population is sparse and primitive. Only about one half the people can read and write. The transportation system is entirely inadequate, for the nation has only about 100 miles of good roads and 450 miles of railways. In addition, frequent earthquakes and dangerous volcanic eruptions occur. There is also the problem of dealing with foreign investors, because here, too, an American fruit company has a controlling interest. The most promising prospect for the future is the probability that the United States will soon build another canal to connect the Caribbean and the Pacific. The route will lie in the south, along the San Juan River and across Lake Nicaragua. Already Nicaragua has profited from money paid by the United States for this right-of-way, and the completion of the project would contribute greatly to the development and prosperity of at least the southern part of the country.

COSTA RICA • Costa Rica is a small country, only slightly larger than El Salvador, with a population of 650,000, a third of that of El Salvador. However, over 80 per cent of the people are white. They are concentrated in one small area in the central mountain valleys. Mainly of Spanish ancestry, they speak Spanish, observe Spanish customs, wear black clothing, and take pride in their many beautiful flower gardens.

Costa Rica has a coast line extending about 125 miles on the northeast side and about 400 miles on the Pacific side. The distance across the country is between 75 and 175 miles. The



H. Armstrong Roberts

One of the Latin American countries with extensive cattle ranches is Costa Rica

backbone of the isthmus is a mountain range which has some peaks as high as ten or twelve thousand feet. In the central part, where this range divides into two, there is a tableland from three to four thousand feet in altitude. There the temperature range is from 57 to 68 degrees, and conditions are favorable for the raising of coffee. This is the principal crop and the leading export. Next in importance are the bananas grown on the eastern lowland. In 1940 nearly 60 per cent of the exports were taken by the United States, which in turn supplied three fourths of the imports of Costa Rica, or much of the machinery, clothing, and wheat used by that country. Costa Rica has a large foreign trade per capita, nearly \$40 per person each year. The nation has 400 miles of railways and about 300 miles of improved roads.

The national government since 1871 has been a unitary republic. A president, but no vice president, is elected every

four years by citizens over twenty-one, who since 1936 have been legally required to vote. There is a cabinet of six members, a supreme court, and a one-house legislature.

Costa Rica is subject to earthquakes, has much unused land, and needs more roads. On the whole, however, the country is prosperous, healthy, democratic, and well-educated. Only about 20 per cent of the people are illiterate, thanks to a good public-school system.

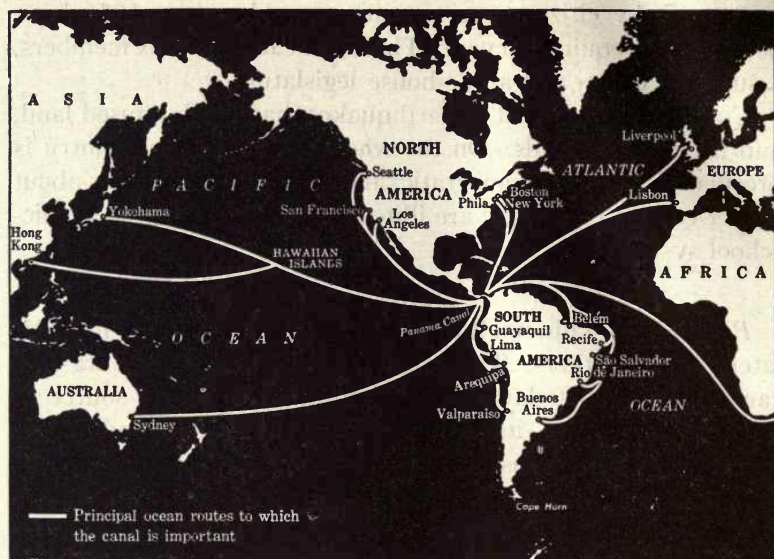
PANAMA • This small republic came into existence in 1903, later than the others. The reason for its independence was the canal route, and today the canal route is the main source of income. The canal itself employs many people, and others make a living from business supported by the passenger traffic. Although the country is as large as Maine, with more than 29,000 square miles of territory, it has a population of only a little over half a million, and most of these people live along the route of the canal. The Spanish influence is predominant, but the people are of all races—African, Indian, European, and Asiatic.

In Panama the isthmus, shaped like an S, has a backbone of mountains. One peak rises 11,000 feet above the sea; but at the narrow part, where the neck of land is only 42 miles wide, the mountain ridge drops down to a height of 300 feet. That was the point selected for the building of the canal, and now the United States controls a zone there 20 miles wide. At each end of the canal, alongside the older Panamanian cities, are new cities built to handle the commerce of the canal. The northern gateway is Cristóbal; the southern is Balboa, where the offices of administration are maintained.

The mule is the beast of burden
on the banana plantations

Ewing Galloway





Map showing the importance of the Panama Canal

There are several towns along the canal and along its service railway. In their vicinity and on the north coast are banana and cacao plantations. In 1939 banana exports made up a third of the total shipments abroad, of which 35 per cent went to the United States. From our country that year Panama bought nearly 60 per cent of its imports, principally clothing and machinery. Outside the one narrow cultivated area, Panama has sparsely settled forest regions, except in the southern part where grasslands support a cattle-raising industry. Moreover, the climate is not conducive to settlement. The average temperature is 80 degrees, and the rainfall on the north coast measure nearly 150 inches a year.

The ten provinces outside the Canal Zone are united into a unitary republic. The constitution of 1904, as amended later, provides for the election for a six-year term of a president who is ineligible for re-election. The other branches of the national government are the supreme court and the legislative body of

one house. Spanish is the official language, but English and French are commonly spoken in the cities.

The great problem of Panama is that so much of the country is not well suited for occupation and development. The chief dependence, then, must be on employment and business associated with the heavy commerce of the canal. Because the canal administrators have long entrusted a good part of this to citizens of the United States, resentment has grown in Panama. Recently, however, steps have been taken to remedy this by more favorable treatment of the Panamanians.

SKY COUNTRIES

COLOMBIA . On the roof of the Andes in the northwestern part of South America are four republics. Of these Colombia is the northernmost. It is about the size of Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma combined (440,000 square miles), and has a population of about nine million. Perhaps 25 per cent of the people are white, 5 per cent Negro, 10 per cent Indian, and the remainder mixed Indian, mulatto, and white. A third of the population lives in cities, of which six have a population of 100,000 or more.

Colombia has two major regions. Over half the country lies between the Andes and the Amazon and upper Orinoco rivers. This part, a tropical lowland, is sparsely inhabited. Most of the population is found in the mountainous western and northern half where the altitude tempers the climate. This region has three mountain ranges—the eastern, central, and western. The Magdalena River, flowing northward between the eastern and central ranges, is one of the great waterways of South America. River steamers travel 800 miles of its 1000-mile course.

A country so varied naturally has a great variety of climates. The coasts and tropical lowlands are torrid, but the high mountain valleys are cold. In the latter there are four seasons each year—wet, dry, wet, and dry. The two rainy seasons are March to May and September to November.

FACTS AND FIGURES: SOUTH AMERICA

Country	Area (Square Miles)	Population and Races	Conqueror and Date	Inde- pend- ence	National Hero	Head of Government, 1943	Railway Mileage
<i>Sky Countries</i>							
1. COLOMBIA	440,000	8½ million 60% mestizo 25% white 10% Indian 5% Negro	Rodrigo de Bastidas 1525	1819	Francisco de Paula Santander	Alfonso López	1,918
2. ECUADOR	120,000	3 million 50% Indian 25% mestizo 15% Negro 10% white	Sebastián de Benalcázar 1535	1822	Francisco Javier Eugenio Espejo	Carlos Arroyo del Río	800
3. PERU	530,000	6½ million 45% Indian 40% mestizo 15% white	Francisco Pizarro 1533	1824	Hipólito Unánue	Manuel Prado y Ugarteche	2,750
4. BOLIVIA	507,000	3½ million 55% Indian 35% mestizo 10% white	Diego de Rojas 1538	1825	Antonio José de Sucre	Enrique Peñaranda	1,300
<i>Southern Lands</i>							
5. CHILE	297,000	4½ million 65% mestizo 30% white 5% Indian	Pedro de Valdivia 1541	1818	Bernardo O'Higgins	Juan Antonio Ríos	5,800
6. ARGENTINA	1,080,000	13½ million 97% white 3% Indian	Juan de Garay 1580	1816	José de San Martín	Pedro Pablo Ramírez	26,000
7. URUGUAY	72,000	2 million 90% white 10% mestizo	Manoel Lobo 1679	1828	José Gervasio Artigas	Juan José Amézaga	1,500
<i>Tropical Sun</i>							
8. PARAGUAY	169,000	1 million 97% mestizo 3% Indian	Pedro de Mendoza 1536	1811	none selected to 1943	Higinio Morinigo	700
9. BRAZIL	3,276,000	45 million 50% white 25% mulatto 12% Negro 12% mestizo 1% Indian	Martim Affonso de Sousa 1532	1822	José Bonifacio Andrada e Silva	Getulio Vargas	21,000
10. VENEZUELA	352,000	3½ million 87% mestizo 5% Negro 3% Indian 5% white	Juan de Ampués 1527	1821	Simón Bolívar	Isafas Medina Angarita	600

FACTS AND FIGURES: SOUTH AMERICA

Exports, 1939	Exports to	Imports, 1939	Imports from	Chief Cities	Popular Music
\$78 million coffee, oil bananas hides platinum	United States 57% Germany 10% Netherlands 3% Canada 9%	\$105 million iron and steel clothing automobiles machinery	United States 54% Germany 13% Great Britain 9%	Bogotá, 330,000 Medellín, 168,000 Barranquilla, 152,000 Cali, 102,000 Cartagena, 85,000	bambuco pasillo
\$11 million cacao ores, oil coffee	United States 49% Uruguay 5%	\$10 million clothing machinery chemicals	United States 49% Japan 5% Great Britain 5%	Quito, 216,000 Guayaquil, 180,000	pasillo sanjuanito yaraví
\$72 million cotton copper oil sugar wool, gold	United States 30% Great Britain 20% Chile 8% Germany 6%	\$48 million machinery food chemicals paints clothing	United States 41% Germany 15% Great Britain 8%	Lima, 521,000 Callao, 75,000 Arequipa, 60,000 Cuzco, 50,000 Iquitos, 35,000	zamba refalosa yaraví
\$40 million Tin silver tungsten antimony lead, zinc	Great Britain 70% Belgium 14% United States 6%	\$24 million livestock firearms sugar vehicles clothing	United States 23% Peru 22% Germany 12% Argentina 12%	La Paz, 250,000 Cochabamba, 52,000 Oruro, 45,000 Potosí, 36,000 Santa Cruz, 31,000 Sucre, 28,000	bailecito tonada
\$138 million copper nitrates ores, wool	United States 31% Great Britain 12% Germany 8%	\$85 million sugar, oil clothing machinery	United States 31% Germany 23% Great Britain 8% Peru 8%	Santiago, 830,000 Valparaíso, 263,000 Concepción, 78,000 Antofagasta, 54,000	cueca tonada esquinazo
\$393 million wheat beef corn linseed wool, hides quebracho	Great Britain 36% United States 12% Netherlands 8% Belgium 7%	\$312 million clothing fuel and oil machinery chemicals wood paper	Great Britain 20% United States 17% Germany 9% Belgium 6% Brazil 6%	Buenos Aires, 2,505,000 Rosario, 517,000 Avellaneda, 386,000 Córdoba, 310,000 La Plata, 248,000 Tucumán, 157,000	tango gato triste pericón vidala
\$51 million wool meat hides grain	Great Britain 18% Germany 12% Argentina 12% France 4%	\$33 million sugar clothing oil, coal machinery	Great Britain 18% Germany 16% United States 5% Brazil 9%	Montevideo, 770,000 Paysandú, 31,000	tango gato triste
\$8 million canned meat quebracho hides, cotton	Argentina 59% United States 15% Great Britain 8%	\$7 million clothing tin cattle, wheat	Argentina 37% United States 10% Japan 13% Great Britain 8%	Asunción, 105,000 Villarrica, 40,000	canción guaranía polka
\$305 million coffee cotton meat hides cacao carnauba wax	United States 36% Great Britain 10% Argentina 5% Japan 5%	\$261 million machinery wheat iron and steel coal oil chemicals	United States 33% Argentina 8% Great Britain 9%	Rio de Janeiro, 1,897,000 São Paulo, 1,120,000 Recife, 473,000 São Salvador, 364,000 Porto Alegre, 322,000 Belém, 295,000 Belo Horizonte, 168,000 Santos, 149,000	samba batuque congada macumba
\$276 million oil coffee gold cacao	Dutch Islands 77% United States 13%	\$98 million machinery food, clothing chemicals minerals	United States 56% Great Britain 7%	Caracas, 203,000 Maracaibo, 110,000 Valencia, 50,000	joropo corrido tono

Colombia is the second nation in the world in coffee production. In 1938 the 600 million trees, cultivated in the mountain valleys on fincas, or small farms, contributed five eighths of the total value of the nation's exports. Next in value was the oil from the middle Magdalena Valley, and third in importance was the banana crop of the coast. In 1939 a little over half the exports went to the United States in exchange for machinery and clothing. The annual foreign trade of about \$21 per capita is rather high for a country with a large proportion of primitive people.

Colombia has a republican form of government. Under the constitution of 1886, as amended in 1936, the president and vice president are elected every four years. The president appoints his cabinet and the governors of the fourteen departments, or administrative divisions, of the country. There is a supreme court and a national legislative body of two houses. The laws are liberal, permitting considerable freedom and providing for a state system of elementary schools.

For a mountainous country Colombia has rather good transportation facilities. In addition to the river route of the Magdalena, there are 1900 miles of railways, 8000 miles of motor highways, and 35,000 miles of other roads. A section of the Pan American Highway connects the central cities with Venezuela to the east and with Ecuador to the south, and international airlines serve nearly all the populous centers. However, transportation continues to be one of the principal difficulties, for most of the inhabitants live far from the coast, where the rugged mountains make travel slow and difficult for the millions of people who cannot afford service by air. The separation of the population into groups as a result of these mountain barriers has also created problems for the government, since general co-operation is difficult to obtain among citizens of rival communities having little acquaintance with each other. Another problem is the unoccupied southeastern part of the country, cut off from the rest by the high Andes. This vast region does not have a very agreeable climate, but it is rich in resources and might provide farm homes for millions as well as



water power and materials for lumbering and other industries, if only it were readily accessible to the centers of population in the mountains.

ECUADOR . By agreement with Peru in 1942 the Andean republic of Ecuador accepted a boundary adjustment that gives it an area of about 120,000 square miles, or approximately the area of New Mexico. The population is nearly three million, the same as Tennessee, and it is about 10 per cent white, 15 per cent Negro, 50 per cent Indian, and 25 per cent mixed.

Ecuador has two main regions: the coastal plains, about 60 miles wide and extending north and south the full length of the country (425 miles), and the mountainous area, which has two north-south ranges and a high plateau lying between them. This tableland has an elevation of seven to nine thousand feet, and surrounding it are many tall peaks, thirty of them active volcanoes. The king of these peaks is Mt. Chimborazo, 20,500 feet high. At Quito the temperature varies but little from the annual average of 56 degrees, and rain falls for about an hour each day throughout most of the year. On the coast the temperature range of from 60 to 90 degrees is mild for the tropics. Its 45 inches of rain each year falls mostly between December and May.

From about 100 million cacao trees, grown in the coastal region, Ecuador produces cocoa that is in great demand for the manufacture of rich chocolate. One fifth of the exports in 1940 were cacao, and the other leading products were gold and other ores, and oil and coffee. In that year 60 per cent of the shipments were to the United States, from which Ecuador bought 60 per cent of its imported machinery and clothing and chemicals. The total foreign trade has been small, about \$9 per person each year.

Under the constitution of 1929 Ecuador has an elected president, who serves a four-year term and may not be re-elected until eight years after he has left office. There is an advisory council of state, a cabinet, a supreme court, and a



James Sawders

These streets of walled booths are to be found even in communities where a free central market is provided. Many natives seem to prefer the "privacy" of the walled booths

legislature of two houses. All men and women who can read and write may vote. Spanish is the accepted language, but many of the Indian tribes still speak only their native tongue.

The little nation has had many revolutions, political troubles, and boundary disputes with neighboring countries. The coastal and mountain regions are so different that the people of these regions are constantly in conflict with each other. The wealth of the country is meager, and most of it is held by the aristocratic owners of the big estates. The transportation system is limited to the 800 miles of railways, a few good highways, including a section of the Pan American Highway, and the international airline. The best hope for the future lies in the development of more varied crops, including the possibility of extensive cultivation of rubber.

PERU . This great country, lying immediately below the bulge on the west coast of South America, is the fifth nation in size in Latin America. It has 1400 miles of coast line, and at one place it measures nearly 600 miles from the coast across the Andes to the boundary in the Amazon Valley. The area, 530,000 square miles, is twice that of Texas, and the population, six million, is very nearly the same as that of California. Forty-five per cent of the people are Indians, 15 per cent white, and 40 per cent mixed. In addition there are a few thousand Chinese, Japanese, and Negroes. The people are clustered in scattered communities in the mountain valleys and along the coast.

Peru has three principal regions. One is the narrow coastal strip, dry and cool. The chilly ocean current offshore causes the temperature along the coast to have an average 10 degrees lower than it would be otherwise. However, because the rainfall is less than two inches a year, the coastal strip is a desert, supporting a sparse population except for a few localities—around the capital, in the vicinity of the northern oil fields, and in spots where streams make irrigation possible. The irrigated valleys produce sugar and large quantities of native cotton for the mills at Callao and Lima as well as a surplus for exportation.

The second region is the mountainous area, running the full length of the country and averaging about 200 miles in width. It has two ranges, the eastern and western, between which there is a high plateau where rains fall from May to October, as a rule. The plateau and mountain slopes are used mainly for the grazing of cattle and sheep, the chief means of support for the large Indian population. Although but few agricultural products come down from these mountains for shipment abroad, the same cannot be said of the minerals. One of the greatest copper mines in the world is at Cerro de Pasco, 200 miles inland and 14,200 feet up from Lima. This and other mines produce much silver, as well as copper, and nearly everywhere in the mountains some gold is found.

The third region, comprising over half the total area, is the tropical montaña, or the mountain slopes and lowlands east of the Andes. Except for some open patches of grassland in the foothills of the mountains, this region has a dense tropical forest, so dense that it can be entered only by boat on the larger rivers. Naturally the inhabitants are few, and the nature of the undeveloped resources is not fully known.

The native cotton cultivated in the coastal region provides the principal export product. Copper is a close second, and oil is third. In 1939 30 per cent of the exports went to the United States and 20 per cent to Great Britain. Of the machinery, foods, chemicals, and clothing imported by Peru that year 41 per cent came from the United States and 15 per cent from Germany. At that time the value of the annual foreign trade was \$22 per capita.

For a country having such great obstacles, Peru is well served by transportation facilities. There are 2750 miles of railways, and one of the lines, climbing from Lima to Cerro de Pasco and beyond, is one of the most remarkable mountain railroads in the world. At places it switches back and forth to gain altitude, crosses high bridges, and runs up the beds of streams from which the water has been diverted into tunnels. To climb one difficult range it winds around and up in a spiral tunnel carved in the rock inside the mountain! Many of the

highways, too, are as well constructed as any in our own country. There are 15,000 miles of roads, of which 1300 miles are paved. A section of the Pan American Highway runs the full length of the country, as do the routes of the international airlines. In addition the natives in the high mountains use the llamas for pack animals, and the few settlers in the region east of the mountains have access to the Atlantic, far away, by means of river steamers which come up the Amazon River as far as Iquitos, Peru.

The government of Peru, as provided in the constitution of 1939, takes the form of a unitary republic. The president serves for a six-year term, and a retiring president may not be re-elected until another six years has passed. The president is assisted by a cabinet of nine members, but he has no vice president. There is a supreme court and a two-house congress. All men over twenty-one who are literate are required to vote in the national elections, and women may vote in the city elections. The language is Spanish, except where natives know only the Indian dialect.

Peruvians along the coast live in dread of winter floods! If a heavy downpour happens to fall in this dry region, where the people are unprepared for rain, it washes out low bridges, wrecks irrigation ditches, and melts down the adobe houses. Worse yet, it drives the fish away from the islands offshore, which causes the sea birds to starve to death by the millions, and this results in a shortage of guano, the bird manure on which the farmers rely for fertilizer. This happens only occasionally, but when it does it is a major disaster.

Another problem of the country arises from the ownership and use of the land. The land is held in large estates on which the Indians do the work. Often the owners insist on raising cattle or commercial crops instead of the food crops badly needed to sustain the population. Moreover, the profits from the rich mines go largely to pay interest and dividends to owners who live abroad. However, Peru has a fairly large supply of coal and geologists believe more oil wells may be opened. Some of the water power has been harnessed, but much

more could be. These sources of fuel and power, along with the other products, create an encouraging outlook for industrial development. In addition, there is that undeveloped eastern region, tropical and hard to reach, but rich in resources and possibly a frontier of the future.

BOLIVIA · South of Peru, and nearly as large, lies Bolivia, another mountainous country. Named after the hero of the wars for independence, Simón Bolívar, this nation has been plagued with revolutions and poverty and now has only three and a half million people, approximately the population of Indiana. Four fifths of the inhabitants live at an elevation of two miles or more above sea level. Fifty-five per cent of them are native Indians, 35 per cent are mixed, and only 10 per cent are white. Since Bolivia has no seacoast, the only body of water on which it borders is Lake Titicaca, the highest lake of its size in the world. Lying 12,500 feet above sea level, it is 70 miles wide and 130 miles long.

The country is divided into three zones. One of them, in the southwestern part of the country, is an extension southward of the high tableland and the two mountain ranges of Peru. In Bolivia, however, where the rainfall is slight even in the mountains, this region is mostly a barren desert. Yet in it, around Lake Titicaca, near the mines, and in the eastern mountain valleys, live most of the people of this country. The numerous Indians eke out a bare livelihood by raising wheat, barley, potatoes, and sheep. They have little interest in events happening outside their own villages. The people of the cities and mining towns, on the other hand, are dependent almost wholly upon the mineral industries, which fluctuate with the exhaustion of old ores and the discovery of new, and with the ups and downs of the foreign markets for the ores and of foreign investments in the mines.

The eastern slope of the high Andes drops down abruptly—14,000 feet in 50 miles—to a lowland comprising two thirds of the area of Bolivia. The northern part of this lowland is one of Bolivia's three regions. An extension southward of the

Peruvian montaña, it is a tropical forest, sparsely inhabited. The third region is the southern part of the lowland, which is part of the broad Chaco shared also by Argentina and Paraguay. Because this region is outside the belt of heavy tropical rains, it is a grassland dotted with a growth of scrubby timber. The climate is temperate, favorable for the cultivation of many food crops, but the settlements are few and isolated, due to the lack of good transportation connections with the populous centers.

Bolivia's leading export comes from the rich tin mines of Oruro, Uncia, and Potosí, high in the mountains. In 1939 the value of the tin bars shipped to refineries in England was 29 million dollars, or 70 per cent of the total exports. Silver and tungsten were the second and third products in value, at about two and a half million dollars each. In that year Bolivia used the profits from these minerals to buy livestock, firearms, sugar, machinery, clothing, and wheat from other countries. Twenty-three per cent of these imports came from the United States, 22 per cent from Peru, and 12 per cent from Germany. In 1939 the average value of foreign trade for each inhabitant of Bolivia was \$23, but, as mentioned before, very few of the millions of natives had any stake or interest in this exchange of products.

This nation, like Peru, is a unitary republic, in which great power is wielded by the president. By the constitution of 1938 the executive and his vice president hold office for four years and have a cabinet of eight ministers. At the end of his term the president may not be a candidate for immediate re-election. The constitution also provides for a supreme court and an elected congress of two houses. The right to vote is limited to men over twenty-one years of age who are literate and own property.

Bolivians contend with many serious problems. Two different classes of people, with little interest in each other, live here together, yet far apart. The lower classes toil in poverty; the upper classes gamble with the nation's mineral wealth. These conditions have caused serious unrest and many revolutions,



Grace Line

A forlorn village lies at the base of Silver Mountain, at Potosí,
now the source of much of our tin, which is more useful than silver

which have hindered the progress of the nation. While quarreling among themselves, Bolivians also lost territory on all sides to neighboring nations. Bolivia's coast was lost to Chile; and although Arica has been made an official port for Bolivia, this country on the roof of the Andes remains isolated from the rest of the world.

This isolation is one of many problems. From the high plateau to the coast a rugged range of mountains must be crossed. Three railway lines through difficult passes carry the mineral products to the seaports, but little besides valuable ores will stand the cost of shipment. Moreover, in the east the plateau is separated from the lowland region by one of the highest mountain ranges in the world. The tallest peak, Mt. Sajama, with an elevation of 22,800 feet, is the second highest in all

Many villages have town councils.

This particular council serves a Bolivian village near La Paz.

James Sawders



America. A few trails cross the range to Santa Cruz and other settlements, and two railways have been planned, but this mountain barrier prevents cheap and easy transportation. In fact, all Bolivia suffers to some extent from a similar handicap. There are few good roads, and the railway mileage is only 1300, less than half that of Peru. East of the mountains a railroad runs to the Argentine border, and there are 12,000 miles of navigable rivers, but most of them lead out northward into the Amazon, far upstream from any Brazilian city and hundreds of miles from the Atlantic Ocean. In the west the settlements around Lake Titicaca, however, are in close contact with each other by means of lake steamers and the many Indian boats made of balsa wood. Elsewhere the most promising means of communication is the airplane, to which Bolivia is turning with great hope.

Other problems no less significant are the shortage of fuel for industries, and consequently the lack of smelters for refining the ores. Moreover, in all the area of this large country only one acre out of each hundred is cultivated. As a result the people do not always have enough to eat. Even if several railways and airlines were to cross the divide and open up the eastern lowland region, it is unlikely that the Indians could be persuaded to move from the mountains to the lowlands. There is a chance, however, that immigrants from other lands, possibly refugees from Europe, might be brought in to make homes in these lowlands and there to produce the fruit, grain, sugar, rice, and coffee that the region is capable of yielding. There is also a possibility that the loss of cheap sources of tin and tungsten in Asia may cause the industrial nations of America to depend more than before on the mines in Bolivia, and this would encourage greater development of the rich resources of the mountain region. On the whole, however, the frontier of the future in Bolivia, as in Peru, lies east of the Continental Divide.



Grace Line

Chile has rich wheatlands on which it still uses the faithful oxen, once a familiar sight in the United States

IN THE SOUTHERN LANDS

CHILE . A population of four and three fourths million, or about the same as that of Massachusetts, in an area the size of Texas—this is Chile. But in reality such comparisons are hardly appropriate, for Chile is shaped like no other country in the world. It is only from 50 to 250 miles wide and over 2000 miles long. In fact the coast line with all its indentations measures about 2700 miles. If Chile were on our own west coast it would occupy a strip about as wide as the peninsula of Lower California and it would stretch from the far southern end of that peninsula all the way to the Canadian border. The

district around San Francisco, then, would represent middle Chile, where 90 per cent of the people live. The Chileans are predominantly white, which is one of the outstanding characteristics of the southern temperate countries of South America. It is true that only 30 per cent of the Chileans are actually pure whites; but, on the other hand, only 5 per cent are Indians, and the 65 per cent of mixed stock are more white than Indian.

Throughout most of its length Chile has a low coastal range, a central valley, and the high Andean range, along which the boundary is drawn. The Andes here form a natural boundary, since this is a high rugged range, with nineteen peaks reaching 20,000 or more feet into the sky. The regions of Chile, five of them, are the result of climatic differences from north to south. The northern region is a barren desert, one of the few places in the world where the weather stations report absolutely no rainfall. Nevertheless, the desert is valuable, for it contains rich nitrate deposits and copper ores. The next region southward is semiarid and produces crops by irrigation. This area is one of the very few in South America in which there are good iron mines. The third region, in central Chile, has an annual average of 14 inches of rain, which falls in the winter season. The climate is very pleasant; at Valparaíso, for example, the average temperature is 52 degrees in the winter and 64 degrees in the summer. This region, called "the California of South America" and requiring irrigation like California, produces fruit, grain, vegetables, and cattle. The fourth region, farther south, is cooler and has heavy rains. It is noted for its cattle, wheat, and hardwood timber. Many recent immigrants from Europe live there, among them about 30,000 Germans. The fifth and final region, at the southern tip of the continent, is a land of mountains, glaciers, forests, and lakes, with cold, wet, and windy weather. It is occupied mainly by some very primitive Indian tribes.

We may readily see why the population is concentrated in middle Chile. There the wealthy farmers have their big ranches, many of them watered by a network of irrigation ditches. In addition, this part of the country is well served by

a very good transportation system. Altogether Chile has 5800 miles of railways, two thirds of them owned and operated by the government; there are 27,000 miles of roads, of which more than 10,000 miles are all-weather highways. Connections with other countries are provided by airlines and ocean steamers, and also by two railways running into Bolivia and one crossing the Andes into Argentina.

Chile lives largely by farming. Its minerals, which form the bulk of its exports, are produced by only about 80,000 of the population. Its factory workers are more numerous than its miners but compose only a small fraction of the total population. In 1939 the leading export was copper, with a value of 68 million dollars. Second in value were the nitrates, at 29 million dollars, which represented quite a drop from earlier years when these nitrate beds provided 90 per cent of the world's nitrogen for fertilizer, chemicals, and explosives. In 1939 the principal import was sugar, followed closely by oil and clothing. Thirty-one per cent of these purchases were made in the United States and 23 per cent in Germany; while of the exports, 31 per cent went to the United States, 12 per cent to Great Britain, and 8 per cent to Germany. The value of the foreign trade is relatively high, about \$53 per person each year.

The constitution under which Chile is governed dates from 1925, although it has been violated several times. The president and vice president serve for six years, and are assisted by a cabinet of appointed ministers. There is a national system of courts, and a legislature of two houses. Women may vote in local elections. The state system of public schools is one of the best in South America.

Chile, with all its progress, faces critical problems. Most serious is the poverty of the mass of the people. A few families own most of the small area of useful land, on which the majority of the people do the work at low wages. Since the farms do not produce enough to feed the population, Chile has to import foodstuffs. Chile needs more and better irrigation projects, to bring more of the land into full production. Chile is troubled, too, by earthquakes, which are sometimes very destructive, and



Grace Line

These workers on their way to Chilean nitrate mines have chosen an ingenious means of transportation

also by the fact that the country has a long coast line and only a small fleet, and therefore would be hard to defend against attack by a first-rate sea power. On the other hand this nation is one of the few in all Latin America that have both coal and iron as well as abundant water power. As a result it is now progressing rapidly in the building of manufacturing plants, and Chileans are optimistic about their future as an industrial nation.

ARGENTINA . One third as large as the United States, with one tenth as many people, Argentina is one of the great nations of South America. It leads in agricultural exports and

in the number and size of its cities. Its population is made up of progressive, proud people of European stock. Ninety-seven per cent of the inhabitants are of European ancestry, and 20 per cent are foreign born. Two million are Italians and a third of a million are Germans. The native Indians now comprise only about 3 per cent of the total. The population of a little over 13 million, living in a country of more than a million square miles, has an average distribution of twelve persons to the square mile, about the same as that of the state of Oregon; but in reality it is concentrated much more densely in Buenos Aires and vicinity, where two thirds of the people live.

There are five main geographic regions in Argentina. The first, including the mountains, plateaus, and foothills of the Andes, is wide in the northwest near Tucumán, but below that city it narrows down to less than 200 miles and continues to be narrow throughout the remainder of its length, or to the southern end of the nation. The mountains of the northwest yield some oil, copper, and lead, the expansive grasslands make good grazing for the many cattle, and the valleys produce sugar cane, mostly by irrigation. In the long, narrow Andean strip there is a rich irrigated oasis around Mendoza, where the specialty is grapes and fruit, but elsewhere the mountains are steep, barren, and very sparsely inhabited.

Another region is the Chaco, in the north. It is a low grassland, dotted with thickets and scrubby trees. It has a mild, dry winter, but in the summer the climate is moist and hot, with 30 inches of rain and an average temperature near 100 degrees. This region has been valued largely for its grass for the grazing of cattle and its quebracho shrubs, from which the sap is extracted for tanning leather. Recently the cultivation of cotton has made great strides. The Chaco, however, is a new country—a frontier, with scattered settlements and crude farm homes made of poles plastered with mud.

Southeast of the Chaco is another region, the inter-river provinces, not much different from the Chaco except that the climate is more mild and moist. The region is set apart by its location between the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. It is a roll-



PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES
OF
ARGENTINA

ing plain, rich and marshy, much like eastern Texas. Most of the land is used for the grazing of sheep, but the farmers also raise cattle, horses, mules, pigs, wheat, flax, corn, rice, cotton, tobacco, and fruits.

A fourth region is the southern fourth of the country, known as Patagonia. With an average of five inches or less of rainfall a year this region is mostly a desert with few inhabitants. Part of the country is suited for the grazing of sheep, and at a few places, in irrigated valleys, fruit and vegetables are raised.

The fifth region and the heart of Argentina is the Pampa, the broad level plain lying in a half-circle around Buenos Aires. It is a rich pastureland, perhaps the richest in the world, with a mild climate and abundant rain. At Buenos Aires the coldest month, July, averages 49 degrees, and the hottest month, January, 74 degrees. The rainfall of 37 inches is well distributed throughout the year. The great ranches and country estates of this region raise the cattle, horses, wheat, flax, and corn for which Argentina is famous. Near the larger cities much of the land is used for truck and dairy farming.

The Pampa, called the "camp" by the people of Buenos Aires, is crisscrossed by the network of Argentina's transportation system, the best by far of any Latin American country. The main highways are paved with concrete, and some of the railroads have streamlined trains and other modern equipment. The railway lines of the nation, mostly British owned, measure 26,000 miles, and the highways 250,000 miles, of which more than 2000 miles are paved. In addition the principal cities are connected by airlines, and those on the Paraná River are served by freight and passenger steamers.

For thirty years the export products of Argentina, coming almost exclusively from the Pampa, have exceeded in value those of any other Latin American country. In 1939 the per capita value of the foreign trade was \$56, \$16 higher than in the United States. That year the leading exports, in order, were wheat, beef, corn, linseed (from flax), wool, oxhides, preserved meat, quebracho extract, and mutton. Of these, 36 per cent went to Great Britain, 12 per cent to the United States,

and 8 per cent to Holland. Of the imported clothing, fuel, machinery, chemicals, and lumber, 20 per cent came from Great Britain, 17 per cent from the United States, and 9 per cent from Germany.

The national government of Argentina is patterned closely after that of the United States. The nation is comprised of fourteen states, called provinces, each having its own strong, local government, and there are ten territories which may later become provinces. Under the national constitution of 1853, still in effect, the provinces are united into a federal union. The president and vice president are elected for six-year terms, but one man may not serve two terms in succession. There is a cabinet of eight ministers, a supreme court, and a congress of two houses. Only the men are eligible to vote, and they are subject to a fine of \$10 if they fail to do so. The national government supports the Roman Catholic Church and six universities, but the excellent public-school system is maintained by the respective provinces.

The Pampas of Argentina extend as far as the eye can reach to the north and west of Buenos Aires

Pan American Airways



Many of Argentina's problems are the outgrowth of the fundamental one of lack of fuel and minerals for manufacturing. Consequently the nation is vitally dependent upon its foreign trade. Three fourths of the manufactured wares, nearly all the coal, and one half the oil used by this nation are bought from other countries. Argentina, then, is greatly concerned about its markets abroad for wheat and beef, and any disturbance of those markets, as in time of war, requires a quick and major readjustment at home. After the outbreak of the European war in 1939 Argentina sought desperately to find markets to replace those cut off by war, and hastily built many new industrial plants. For the latter, most of the materials had to be imported, but the Argentines felt more secure making more of their own manufactured wares, and the construction work helped to create immediate jobs for the many unemployed laborers from farm and city. The recent difficulties have brought to focus a problem as old as town and country, and that is the conflict between the city people and the ranchers. The urban masses want industry and greater democracy; the conservative rural landowners wish to preserve their large landholdings, to maintain their commercial dominance, and to continue their control over the government.

Another problem arises from the ownership of too much land by too few people—the conservative aristocrats who have long controlled the nation. The average farm in Argentina is nine times as large as the average farm in the United States. Many of the estates are being partially broken up to provide small tracts for tenants. Other problems of the "camp" are locusts and water. When the locusts come in great clouds, as they do sometimes, they devour everything in the fields, sometimes even the fence posts. The rain on the Pampa drains off underground, leaving little surface water. A supply for the cattle and for household use is commonly obtained from deep wells, by use of steel windmills. Where these are lacking, and where the water from shallow wells is unfit to drink, as is often the case, the supply for the household is obtained from rain water drained from the roof of the ranch house.

Unquestionably Argentina has a great future. The prospect of finding more oil is encouraging, and with this for fuel and with farm products for materials a variety of industries may yet be built. There is also a great reserve of water power in the northern and southern parts of the country. The sources are too far from Buenos Aires to make it practical to conduct electricity from them to that city, but they can be tapped whenever settlers become sufficiently numerous in the north and south to make the projects pay. Already in the north the Chaco region is a rapidly developing frontier, the source of valuable products. In the south another rich frontier may be opened by the construction of irrigation projects. The development of these two regions will make it possible for Argentina to become the home of additional millions of people.

URUGUAY · The smallest country in South America, Uruguay, lies on a point of land bounded on the east by the Atlantic

Buenos Aires has a modern traffic system with all its problems and frictions

Moore-McCormack Lines



Ocean and on the west by the Uruguay River. Located between Argentina and Brazil, little Uruguay was long subject to much interference from these neighbors. Recently, free from those troubles, the nation has made rapid strides forward and is now one of the most progressive countries of the hemisphere.

In an area about the size of North Dakota live more than two million people, or approximately the number in the state of Mississippi. The Uruguayans are mostly white, like the people of the other southern lands. Only 10 per cent have some Indian blood, and these live in the rural districts.

Uruguay is three regions in one. From the standpoint of surface features there are three main regions—the eastern hills, the western hills, and the low central plateau. With reference to use of the land the entire nation is one region, a great pasture. In the south some of the fields are used for cultivation of wheat, flax, oats, and barley, but elsewhere the rolling, bluish grassland provides pasture for sheep and cattle. The climate is about the same everywhere, mild and agreeable, about like that of Georgia but with cooler summers. At the capital the warmest month averages 72 degrees and the coldest 50 degrees. The rainfall there is about 40 inches a year; farther north it is 50 inches. The entire area of Uruguay is occupied, and it is all well bound together by transportation lines. There are 1500 miles of good railroads and 1500 miles of paved roads.

Outside the cities the people live on ranches of from 100 to 5000 acres. The owners of the larger ranches live in low, roomy, brick houses, covered with red tile and surrounded by a grove of trees. Near by are the white barns for the horses and for the storing of wool, and the little brick or adobe cottages, with thatched roofs, the homes of the sheep-tenders. From these ranches come the principal exports of wool, meat and meat extracts, hides, and grain. In 1939 one fifth of the total went to Great Britain, one eighth to Germany, and 12 per cent to Argentina. In that year the leading imports were sugar, clothing, oil, coal, machinery, and yerba maté (Paraguayan tea). Of the total imports 18 per cent were supplied by Great Britain, 16 per cent by Germany, and 9 per cent by Brazil.



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This monument at Montevideo, Uruguay, depicts in lifelike form the early covered-wagon pioneers

The foreign trade is large in proportion to the population, being \$47 per person in 1938.

The constitution of 1934 provides for the election of president and vice president every four years. They have a cabinet of nine ministers. There is a supreme court and a congress of two houses, and all men and women are required to vote. The constitution provides for old-age pensions, accident insurance for laborers, an eight-hour day, minimum wages, and a public-school system. Although the people are of various European nationalities, the language is Spanish.

The major problem of Uruguay is similar to that of Argentina. There is a deficiency of fuel and minerals. Industries are lacking, then, except those for salting and packing meat, making leather goods and textiles, and milling the grain. Thus Uruguay, dependent to the extreme on foreign trade, has suffered severely during the depression of the thirties and the war period beginning in 1939. Unemployment became so serious that nearly all workers were put on half-day shifts. Since the country is already having difficulty in supporting its people, restrictions

have been raised against the coming of more immigrants. The people hope for the restoration of order and freedom in the world, so that they may once again see prosperous days and continue the progress interrupted by the troublous times.

UNDER THE TROPICAL SUN

PARAGUAY · Northwest from Uruguay and across a neck of land belonging to Argentina is Paraguay, cut off from access to the sea except by the Paraguay River. This inland country, about the size of California (169,000 square miles), is occupied by one million people, or only six to the square mile. Ninety-seven per cent of the population are mixed Spanish and Guaraní Indian, and most of these people are bilingual, speaking both languages. The remaining three per cent are pure Indian, and there are a very few recent immigrants from Europe.

Yerba maté is the favorite drink of many natives in South America. This Uruguayan uses a gourd for a cup

Keystone View from James Sawders

The country is divided into two regions by the Paraguay River. East of the river is a hilly, forested plateau; west of the river is part of the Chaco, already described in connection with Bolivia and Argentina. Both regions have rich soils and a fairly good climate. Since the nation lies on the fringe of the tropical zone, the summer months—December, January, and February—are wet and very hot, with temperatures frequently standing at 100 degrees. The winters, however, are cool and dry, and the spring and autumn seasons are delightful. The entire country, then, is well suited to agriculture, but



only the eastern region is populated, and partially at that. The 95 per cent of the people who live there have carved openings in the forest for the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, oranges, and yerba maté, their native tea. In addition they cut a great deal of quebracho timber. Although some iron is found in most parts of the country, there are few manufacturing industries outside the Indian crafts and the plants for processing the products of farm and forest. The nation has few good roads and only 700 miles of railways. The rivers are navigable, but undependable because of floods and shifting sandbars.

Since the population is small, the amount of foreign trade per capita seems fair for a Latin American country—about \$17 worth a year. The total volume, however, is really small, less than 15 million dollars a year in both exports and imports. The two main products shipped down the river are canned meat and quebracho extract. In 1940 56 per cent of the exports went to Argentina, 19 per cent to the United States, and 18 per cent to Great Britain. Of the imports—mainly clothing, tin, and food—50 per cent came from Argentina, 20 per cent from the United States, and 11 per cent from Japan.

Under the constitution of 1940 the powers of the government are centered in the president, who is elected for five years. He is assisted by a cabinet of eight ministers and an advisory council of state. There is also an elected congress, when and if the president permits free elections to be held. Under the rule of an arbitrary president the censorship of news is so thorough that it is difficult for an outsider to learn what is happening.

Obviously Paraguay is a blighted nation in a fruitful region. That the inhabitants have not made better use of their excellent opportunity has been due to disastrous wars with neighbors on all sides and to failure to develop good leadership and to attract immigrants. Seventy-five per cent of the people are illiterate, and nearly all suffer from poverty, undernourishment, and disease. Hookworm is rampant, and tuberculosis, malaria, and typhoid are common. Moreover, these suffering people have been exploited by Argentines and other foreigners



who control their transportation and much of their resources. The needs of the country are apparent from an enumeration of its problems. Given bold measures to overcome these handicaps, Paraguay would certainly grow in time into a strong and prosperous little nation.

BRAZIL · Larger than the United States, and four fifths the size of Europe, Brazil is a big country. It measures 2600 miles east and west and about the same north and south. In resources it has everything that could be desired except high-grade coal; yet the population is relatively small and the future possibilities are not definitely known. About 45 million people live in Brazil's three and one fourth million square miles, or an

average of fourteen to the square mile. In reality, though, most of the population is on or near the eastern coast; the great Amazon Valley has an average of less than one person per square mile. About half of all the people are descendants of immigrants from Europe—Portuguese, Germans, Italians—without mixture with other races, and this white population is concentrated in southern Brazil. About one fourth of the inhabitants of the whole country are mulattoes, and one eighth are pure Negroes. The remaining one eighth are mostly a mixture of Indians and whites, with but a few pure Indians remaining.

A major part of the surface of Brazil is made up of expansive, hilly plateaus and low mountains, old and worn-down, the major exception being the lowlands of the upper Amazon Valley. The four regions, then, into which the country is divided, are based mainly on climatic differences. One region consists of the three states that project southward next to Uruguay and Paraguay. A hilly upland covered with grass and pine forests, this region lies outside the tropical zone. The winter months, when the temperature averages about 60 degrees, are dry and have some frosts, and the summers are very pleasant, especially in the higher ground away from the coast. Here many small farmers, including a large number of Germans and Italians, cultivate a great variety of crops and gather maté leaves from the trees growing wild in abundance. This part of Brazil has considerable coal but few other minerals to support industrial development.

The second region, south-central Brazil, is the heart of the nation's life and industry. Here the climate is warm, with little variation. The average temperature of the cool months, 62 degrees, is only 10 degrees lower than the average for the warm months. The rainfall, 40 to 60 inches a year, is about the same throughout the region. The coast has a heavy, tropical vegetation, but the interior highlands have mixed pine and hardwood forests broken by areas of grassland. Through the years this region has turned from one specialty to another. For a century it was gold from the rich mines in the interior. Then coffee took

the lead; and soon after 1900 Brazil was producing nearly twice as much coffee as the world consumed. Recently the farmers have turned to the cultivation of cotton and oranges, but coffee is still the principal crop. Other products include sugar, cattle, timber, fruits, and vegetables. The mineral resources include, besides gold, the richest iron reserves in the world, much manganese, and a great variety of other minerals. Several kinds of precious jewels are found, including many diamonds valued highly for industrial uses, as on cutting tools. There are good sources of water power too, some of which have been harnessed to supply electricity for São Paulo and Rio. The industrial plants of São Paulo turn out clothing, metal goods, food products, paper goods, and chemicals; and others assemble imported automobiles and machinery. Rio and the other cities also have manufactures, and all are connected by Brazil's principal network of railways.

The northeast forms a separate region. This part of Brazil was the first occupied by the Portuguese; thus it was for a long time the leading region, and São Salvador (Baía) was the colonial capital of Portuguese America until 1763. The region differs from south-central Brazil in that it has a warmer, more monotonous climate, and heavier rains along the coast. On the interior plateau and highlands, however, the rains are very whimsical. One year there may be a heavy downpour during April and May; another year there may be no rain at all. The hilly interior, covered with grass and scrubby brush, is used principally for the grazing of livestock, except where rivers in the northern valleys provide irrigation for fields of cotton, sugar, rice, and beans. Along the warm, moist east coast the lower lands are planted to sugar cane and the foothills to cotton. In the southern part of this region, near São Salvador, cacao is the principal product. This locality, too, produces some oil from recently drilled wells, and more may be found in the future. This northeastern section, then, is that part of tropical Brazil which is at least partially cultivated. The people are mostly Negroes who are the laborers of the plantations and the port cities.



H. Armstrong Roberts

The business district of Rio de Janeiro has many attractive streets

Northwestern Brazil, the fourth region, is the basin of the Amazon and tributary rivers. The western part is a low plain, subject to frequent floods, and the eastern part is a highland in which the rivers have cut deep valleys. The rain, about 80 inches a year, falls mostly between January and June. Since the temperature seldom goes above 96 degrees, tropical Brazil is not as hot as our Mississippi Valley in summertime; but the unbroken heat grows monotonous, and the constantly high humidity of the atmosphere is very uncomfortable. Although the soil is not rich, the warmth and moisture produce a dense, luxuriant growth of vines and broad-leafed evergreen trees.



Keystone View from James Sawders

A policeman
of the Amazon region
of Brazil

Three thousand different kinds of trees have been counted on one square mile! From the millions of wild rubber trees in these forests the rubber of the world was once supplied, before cultivation of the trees in the East Indies produced a cheaper, better rubber and took away Brazil's market. Subsequently the main product of this region was its nuts of many varieties, which are used in the making of confections, soap, margarine, buttons, lubricating oils, and certain kinds of medicines. Recently the Japanese conquest of the East Indies has revived the gathering of rubber. The very small population of this region includes only some tribes of wild Indians and the people engaged in the gathering, processing, and shipping of the forest products.

In interior Brazil the only transportation facilities, besides the airlines, are the 30,000 miles of navigable rivers, of which 17,000 miles are served regularly by steamship lines. The railway system of 21,000 miles is concentrated in the south-central region and the far south. At points along the coast in the northeast, short lines run from port cities inland. There are a few first-class railways, but most of the lines are indifferently built and poorly equipped. They are financed by British capital and managed by the Brazilian government. Southern Brazil has about 15,000 miles of good highways, but those elsewhere are poor and inadequate. The total mileage, 80,000, is only one third that of Argentina, whereas Brazil is three times as large as the latter country. Brazil, however, is well served by airlines.

Long rows of coffee trees growing in the red soil of south-central Brazil, and the thousands of tenant laborers who pick, wash, dry, and sack the coffee, are responsible for the leading

export of the land. The total value of the coffee sent abroad in 1940 was 92 million dollars. Cotton was next in value, and then came meat, hides, cacao, and carnauba wax, which has many uses, including the manufacture of phonograph records. In that year the United States bought 42 per cent of the exports of Brazil, Great Britain 17 per cent, and Argentina 7 per cent. Of the imported machinery, vehicles, steel products, wheat, fuel, gasoline, and chemicals, 52 per cent were supplied by the United States, 11 per cent by Argentina, and 9 per cent by Great Britain. Brazil's total foreign trade, however, is less than that of Argentina. In 1940 the value per person in this large, tropical country was only \$13, against the remarkably high figure of \$56 for the neighbor to the south.

The constitution written for Brazil in 1937 provides a form of government somewhat like ours. The thirty-two states form a federal union, headed by a president, but there is no vice president. The executive, elected for a term of six years, is assisted by a cabinet of ten ministers and by the Council of National Economy, an appointed committee of experts on national planning. There is a federal system of courts, and a legislature of two houses; but in times of crisis the president has refused to call the congress into session and has ruled supreme. In those circumstances elections do not count for much, but when they are held all citizens over eighteen may vote. Although the official language is Portuguese, French is also spoken in most of the cities, and German and Italian in many southern communities.

Brazil has long been divided politically into northern and southern camps. The two regions, different in products and people, and until recently connected only loosely by sea communications, have contested for control of the nation's policy. In addition there is rivalry among the big states, and the growth of great cities on the coast has created conditions producing conflict between the urban masses and the rural population of the interior, like that of city against country in Argentina. In an area so large, populated only on the coastal fringe, the differences are not easily harmonized. The majority of the people

face out toward the sea and toward other lands instead of across the fields toward each other.

The wealth of Brazil is owned and exploited by the rich upper classes. The laborers are very poor, and the urban middle class, even in the booming cities, fares none too well. Immigration, once a great boon to the development of the country, has declined greatly in recent years. In fact, Brazil wants no more immigrants for the cities, but those interested in farming are encouraged to come. For them, new areas are being opened, and where they settle, mainly in the far south, they build prosperous, stable communities of small landholders—a pattern of life much different from old plantation Brazil.

Old Brazil is beginning to realize that it has suffered from too much specialization. The national history is the story of the rise and fall of a series of export products, starting with sugar, which was followed in turn by gold, cotton, cacao, rubber, and coffee. Now an effort is being made to develop more diversified farming and to build more industries. For the development of manufactures Brazil has all essentials except abundant high-grade coal and a large and prosperous middle class to buy the products. However, oil and water power help partially to make up for the lack of coal, and a good boost in industrial development may start an upward-climbing spiral of more middle-class laborers and professional people and more industry.

Brazil needs capital, engineers, and time. It needs railroads, highways, schools, and, in the north, doctors and improved sanitation. Given time, the industrial future looks promising, but unless the tropical region should be opened, the amount of good land for new agricultural settlement is surprisingly small, considering the size of the country. The future of the tropical region depends upon the progress scientists make in the development of tropical agriculture, in the conquest of tropical disease, and in the provision of ways for people to live and work comfortably in that climate. Upon the outcome of these efforts hinges the opening of a great new American frontier.

FRENCH, DUTCH, BRITISH GUIANA . In the tropical Guiana Highlands north of the Amazon Valley are French, Dutch, and British Guiana. All three face the Atlantic, and the entire region has an equatorial climate, with about 80 inches of rain a year and a temperature constantly near 80 degrees. The French colony, about one third as large as France, has a population of less than 50,000, and its only export is a small amount of gold. The Dutch colony, five times the size of Holland, has 150,000 people, mostly Europeans, who produce sugar and coffee. The British colony, practically equivalent in size to the British Isles, is populated by a few Europeans and many Negroes and Indians, totaling 340,000. It exports sugar, coconuts, lumber, diamonds, gold, and bauxite (aluminum ore). The British and Dutch colonies are estimated to have great reserves of good bauxite. Since the three Guianas are but slightly developed and are still colonies of European nations,

Both sellers and buyers of coffee employ tasters who earn their salaries by "tasting"

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they usually are not given much attention in books on Latin America.

VENEZUELA . Between the Guianas and Colombia lies a country of great contrasts. Venezuela has tropical forests, broad grasslands, and rugged mountains. Noted especially for its oil, the nation really lives by farming and cattle-raising. The surface area is about 350,000 square miles, the size of Texas plus Colorado. The three and one-half million people are five per cent white, five per cent Negro, about three per cent pure Indian, and the rest mixtures of these three.

Venezuela is divided in half by the Orinoco River, which flows north and then eastward from its source to its delta on the Caribbean near British Guiana. The half south of the river is one of the four principal regions of the country. This section has a range of round mountains and some flat tablelands, an extension westward of the Guiana Highlands. The heavy rains produce a tropical forest, but the altitude moderates the temperature. Although gold, diamonds, and iron ores have been found, and some cacao is cultivated, the entire region has very few inhabitants.

One of the three regions north of the Orinoco is the coastal lowland around Lake Maracaibo. It has an equatorial climate, with temperatures ranging from an average of 78 degrees in August to an average of 84 degrees in January. The forest on the lake shore was the dwelling place of but few people besides Indian fishermen until the opening of the oil region brought a rush of foreign engineers and laborers. The wells first produced oil in 1921, and by 1928 the oil exports of Venezuela were third in the world, next to Russia and the United States. Revenue from tax on the foreign-owned properties supports the government of Venezuela and has freed the nation from public debt.

The third region is a low range of the Andes extending north-eastward across the country from south of Lake Maracaibo to a little beyond Caracas. The range averages seven to nine thousand feet in altitude, and in valleys elevated about 3000

feet live most of the people of Venezuela. The mestizo population subsists on corn, rice, and beans, and, in addition, raises coffee, cotton, cacao, goats, and cattle. The industries are principally Indian crafts, turning out textiles and leather goods.

The fourth region is a grassland area, the Llanos, about 600 miles long and 200 miles wide. Lying south of the Andean range, this lowland slopes toward its southern boundary, the Orinoco River. Here the sturdy cowboys of Venezuela graze great herds of cattle under difficult conditions. From April to

Other countries as well as the United States have their trade troubles. In Brazil coffee can be bagged for export only in a certain kind of bag made by a specified manufacturer,

Moore-McCormack Lines



October, when heavy rains flood all but the hilltops, the cattle are driven through the flooded valleys from hill to hill, in order to find enough grass for their subsistence. By the end of the long dry season, which prevails the rest of the year, the bunch grass is brown and hard and the cattle must be driven far to the south to the green grasslands near the Orinoco. The cattle industry of this region is one of the principal sources of wealth for a few aristocrats in the mountain cities, and a valuable source of food and leather for the mestizo population of the mountains. Along the eastern edge of this region are some oil wells.

The chief export of the country comes from the oil fields. In 1940 the oil exports were valued at more than 250 million dollars. This hardly should be credited to Venezuela, however, for the nation received only the revenue from the tax and the leases. More representative of the country was the exportation of coffee to the value of six million dollars, and also considerable gold and cacao. In 1940 66 per cent of the exports (the oil) went to Dutch islands off the coast for transshipment to Europe and North America. Of the remaining exports, two thirds were bought by the United States, which in turn supplied three fourths of Venezuela's imported machinery, foodstuffs, clothing, and chemicals. The statistics thus show an extremely valuable foreign trade, amounting to more than \$100 per person annually; but the average mestizo farmer gained little from it except some relief from taxation because of national revenue obtained from the oil companies.

It was taxes on the oil that built Venezuela's excellent highways. The nation has 2000 miles of surfaced roads, including a branch of the Pan American Highway from Caracas into Colombia. There are also 4000 miles of dirt roads and about 600 miles of railways. Six thousand miles of the river waterways are navigable, but much of this is in the southern region and thus is little used.

The constitution of Venezuela, drafted in 1936, provides for a federal union of its twenty states. The departments of the government correspond to ours: a two-house legislature, a

supreme court, and a president, assisted by a cabinet of ten. The term of the executive, however, is five years. The laws are liberal, providing for an eight-hour day, social-security programs, collective bargaining, profit-sharing in industry, and considerable personal freedom. The Spanish language is written and spoken almost exclusively, although the well-educated citizens also know other languages.

In Venezuela there are great contrasts between city society and rural life; therefore this nation suffers from a condition common in Latin America. The cattle and plantation aristocracy dominates the nation and the oil companies pay the bill. Prices are high and the masses are poor. The greater part of the people, living in poverty in their mountain valleys, know little about national affairs or about the other regions of the country. The recently constructed highways, however, are beginning to help unify the diverse regions and peoples into a nation. The country needs more than this, though. It needs better educational facilities, more immigrants, better health services, development of water power and iron resources, and expansion of manufacturing industries. In addition, further exploration of the unoccupied tropical hills and mountains in the south might bring to light rich mineral deposits that have not yet been discovered, as well as pasture lands and important forest products. Venezuela, already becoming democratic and progressive, has promise of a better future. Many of its leaders are optimistic; they often point out that their country has no foreign debt.

Compare this cowboy of Costa Rica with those of other countries. See pages 230, 267.

H. Armstrong Roberts



SUMMARY

In size, population, climate, politics, and products, the nations to the south of us have great variety. The largest country, Brazil, is larger than the United States; the smallest, Haiti, is about the size of Vermont. The total population, nearly 130 million, includes people of many races. Haiti is predominantly Negro, and Brazil, Cuba, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic also have large Negro populations. In Mexico, in Paraguay, in some of the Central American nations, and in the sky countries of South America most of the people are Indians and mestizos. In Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica the white race predominates.

Conditions of climate vary according to location and altitude. The southern lands are temperate, whereas the lowland regions in Middle America and in northern South America are tropical. Elsewhere the climate varies with the altitude, and often there are extreme differences in places located only a few miles apart. As a rule the mountainous regions, with their invigorating climate, are inhabited by the people of Indian ancestry, while the tropical lowlands have large numbers of Negroes, and the temperate southern lands are populated by white people.

For the countries of Middle America, and for Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador, the United States is the leading consumer of the export products—sugar, bananas, coffee, cacao, nuts, and precious metals. Normally the other countries trade chiefly with Europe, and especially is this true of those that have products which the United States also can produce in abundance, as wheat, meat, cotton, flax, hides, and oil. However, as we shall see later on, many of these countries, with some changes in their industrial setup, could also produce many things needed by themselves and by their neighbors, including the United States.

One of the surprising things revealed by our tables on export trade is the small extent to which these nations have traded with one another. War conditions, however, are causing the several countries to trade with their neighbors much more than

before. This new development promises to continue and to contribute much to the strengthening of inter-American friendship. There are, however, many serious problems to be solved, and the efforts to solve them will be discussed in another unit.

Throughout Latin America many great cities and thousands of villages serve as the centers of the economic, political, and cultural life. In these communities the townsmen have their homes, shops, market places, and cultural institutions. Everywhere we find Catholic churches, which exert a profound influence in their respective communities. Social activities range from the fiestas and dances of village folk to the operas of city society. The Latin Americans, even those handicapped by poverty and other hardships, are proud of their culture and their ancestry. To understand this it is necessary to look into their early beginnings in America and in Europe and to review their many achievements in the face of discouraging difficulties.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Turn back to the questions at the end of the First Unit and see if you are now able to discuss them more fully. Why is it not possible to answer many of the questions well from a survey of present conditions in Latin America?

2. Consider also these questions:

a. To what extent do the national political divisions in Latin America coincide with the natural regions?

b. What would be needed to make it possible for white men to conquer the tropics and live there?

c. Why are many of the countries handicapped when it comes to the building of industries for the manufacture of heavy machinery?

d. Why is the development of air transportation especially important to most Latin American countries?

e. How many of the countries have their national government organized much like that of the United States? Why is the date of formation of most of the constitutions very recent?

TO WRITE . 1. Prepare a list of the chief export products of Latin America and after each product name the principal countries from which it comes.

2. Prepare a list showing other things produced but not exported to a great extent.

3. Write an essay on the present problems of our Latin American neighbors.

4. Select one of the regions that seems to offer opportunity for great future development and write about its needs and its possibilities.

TO TELL . Read up and report to the class on life in one of the following: the tropics, an Indian village, the pampas, a coffee plantation, a large city.

TO DO . 1. Visit a museum or college exhibit where Latin American mineral products are on display.

2. Have the Pan American Club quiz program suggested in the activities for the First Unit.

3. On an outline map draw pictures to represent the products for which each region of Latin America is noted.

4. On an outline map shade the areas in Latin America where the climate is much like that of the region where you live. In addition show by X marks the places in Latin America subject to frequent calamities, like hurricanes, earthquakes, floods, and droughts.

TO IDENTIFY . 1. The five larger countries, the five smaller ones, and the five which are more densely populated than the others.

2. The countries that have large proportions of whites, of Negroes, of Indians, and of mestizos.

3. See if you can name the capital cities of the twenty Latin American nations.

TO DEFINE . temperate, tropical, trade winds, calms, plateau, isthmus

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO SEE AND TO HEAR . Refer to the section on audio-visual aids in the Appendix.

TO READ

[Selections]

- ATWOOD, W. W., and THOMAS, H. G. *The Americas*, pp. 234-299. Ginn and Company, Boston.
- DOWNES, J. E., SINGER, N. H., and BECKER, DONALD. *Hemisphere Solidarity*, Chap. II. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston.
- HERRING, HUBERT, and GREEN, P. L. "Latin America," in *The World Book Encyclopedia*. W. F. Quarrie Corporation, Chicago.

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- ATWOOD, W. W., and THOMAS, H. G. *The American Nations*. Ginn and Company, Boston.
- GREEN, P. L. *Our Latin American Neighbors*. Hastings House, New York.
- HERRING, HUBERT. *Good Neighbors*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- PAN AMERICAN UNION. *American Nation Series*. Washington.
- RAUSHENBUSH, JOAN. *Look at Latin America*. Foreign Policy Association, New York.
- RODELL, KATHARINE CARR. *South American Primer*. Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York.
- STROHM, JOHN. *I Lived with Latin Americans*. Interstate Printers and Publishers, Danville, Ill.
- TOMLINSON, EDWARD. *The Other Americans*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

THIRD UNIT

BEFORE COLUMBUS

Many questions raised by a sightseeing tour of Latin America are not answered by a survey of the twenty nations as they are today. To answer these questions it is necessary to investigate the background of these nations. We must learn more about the people who were here when Columbus came, about their conquest by European people, and about the story of our southern neighbors from the conquest to the present. In this unit we shall go back to the America and Europe of the age of Columbus.

Columbus called the natives of the new lands Indians because he thought he had reached India. At first little was known about the dark-skinned people who were found in all parts of America. Now we realize that the natives were much more numerous in Middle and South America than they were in the northern woodlands to which the English and French came later. We realize that there were many tribes speaking different languages and having different customs. Some of them had what we should consider a higher, or an advanced, civilization; others were very primitive. Because the more advanced native populations lived in the regions which we now call Latin America, the Indian element has been very important in the history of those regions.

Rich lands and millions of natives were here before Columbus. Why had not Europe discovered them earlier? Simply because Europe was not ready to reach across into America until about 1500 A.D. The people of Europe had to get rid of old ideas, build better boats, make preliminary discoveries, and found strong nations before they could undertake that great task. The Old World was undergoing such a revolution

in the fifteenth century. Although at that time no one there realized fully what this meant, the men of the Old World were then actually preparing themselves for the conquest of the New World.

THE PEOPLE HERE

Middle and South America probably were inhabited by twenty-five million people before Columbus and his men put foot on these shores. North of Mexico there were perhaps a million more, a very small number in comparison with that of Latin America. These people, since known as Indians, probably came long ago from Asia across the Bering Strait and then moved southward in wave after wave. They became concentrated in large numbers in Mexico, Central America, and the northwestern part of South America, while scattered tribes lived in all parts of the two continents.

Each Indian tribe had its own complicated spoken language, but only a few could put their thoughts into writing. Many of the tribes and groups have since been named after the particular language they spoke, as Iroquoian, Siouan, and Mayan. Everywhere the Indians lived in families and in groups of families, called clans and gens. In the clan the relationship was traced through the mother, while in the gens it was traced on the father's side. Within the tribes were many clubs and societies devoted to ancient customs and elaborate ceremonies, among them the picturesque dances.

The Indians were bound by custom. "What other people do" and "what they would say" were very important; so much so that few individuals ever departed from the established customs. As a result there were few criminals and no jails, except for prisoners of war. Likewise there were no paupers, except where an entire tribe was so poverty-stricken that all its families were very poor. In other words, seldom did individuals try to accumulate personal wealth beyond a few adornments, blan-



kets, and weapons. The land was held by the tribe as a whole, and parts of it were assigned to individuals for their use. The returns from the field and the hunt were stored and distributed among the members of a tribe as needed. This is now known as a communal economic system.

In their government the tribes were normally democratic. Older men represented the families in the tribal councils, and the chiefs were elected from among the tested men of respected clans. They were responsible to the councils and to public opinion. Usually a tribe had two chiefs. One ruled in time of peace, and the other took charge in time of war. Sometimes a war chief would be guilty of prolonging war in order to continue

his power and rule as a dictator. When at war the Indians exerted their extreme effort, just as modern nations do, but when at peace they were normally sociable, good-natured, peace-loving people.

Although all Indian tribes had most of the traits just mentioned, they showed many dissimilarities. Each tribe had its own language, type of dwelling, form of dress, typical ornaments, group of legends, and ways of making a living. These differences were related to the kind of region a tribe occupied. On the Great Plains most of the means of living were derived from the buffalo; in the woodlands, from the products of the forest; along the coast, from the resources of sea and shore; and in the rocky highlands, from the stone, earth, and cacti. Some tribes—those that tilled the soil—remained in one locality for a long time; others were nomadic, wandering from place to place in pursuit of game.

The differences in the tribes suggest a classification of the American Indians into four major groups, each living in its own zone.

The first zone had two centers, in ancient Inca-land and in Maya-Aztec-land.

The second zone contained a number of tribes who lived in Middle and South America near these two centers but who ranked a little lower in achievement.

The third zone, whose tribes were still less advanced, had three parts—a band across eastern and central South America, an area in eastern North America, and the islands in the Caribbean Sea. If the sea had not broken it into these parts, this zone would have formed a rough half-circle around the two central zones.

The fourth zone, where the Indians were nomadic and very primitive, covered the remainder of the two continents, or the large regions north and south of the other three zones.

With this broad outline in mind, we may now go back over it in order to see how the natives lived in each of the zones. First the Incas of Peru. If the language name is used, they should be called the Quechuas, after the language spoken by the leading tribes. The Spanish referred to them as Inca Indians



Philip Gendreau

This throne, on which a Quechua Indian is seated, was used centuries before Europe even knew of the existence of another world

because Inca was the title of their supreme ruler. To those natives the Inca was a combination of god and king. He and his advisers parceled out the land, collected taxes, told each community what it could produce, led in religious worship, and directed an educational system that was designed only for the upper classes. Needless to say, they had a strong army and a large body of assistants, the clerks and priests. They conquered neighboring tribes, from Ecuador to Bolivia, and to bind them together built good highways over which relays of runners carried messages back and forth. One set of runners brought fish from the sea up the mountain trail through Arequipa to supply the table of the Inca at the capital, Cuzco. They were fast runners, because the Inca liked his fish fresh.

The Quechua Indians under their Inca were noted for their good farms built on terraces on the mountain slopes and irrigated by water from the mountain streams. The lands were communal and were divided into four classes: (1) tracts de-

voted to the support of the government, (2) those reserved for the support of the sick and aged, (3) those assigned to maintain the church, and (4) those used for the support of the workers and their families. Each year the farmers were required to till the fields that were set apart for the support of the churches and of the old and unfortunate people before tending their own. Last of all, they cultivated the government land. The system thus made specific provision for what we should call charity, social security, private income, and taxation, in that order of importance.

The Incas were noted for their studies in medicine, astronomy, and law, and for their system of keeping records by use of the quipu, a unique counting device made of knotted cords of different colors. They also built substantial stone buildings, and they mined gold, which they used only for ornamentation. Cuzco, the capital of Inca-land, had a population of 200,000 before the Spaniards came.

Since civilizations seem to rise and decline, we may conclude that the civilization of the Incas, or Quechuas, had probably reached its peak at about the time Columbus discovered America. That was not true of the Mayas, to whom we turn next. Their civilization had declined before the time of Columbus, but some of its features had been kept alive by later tribes.

The first zenith of Mayan achievement had been reached during the years from 400 to 700 A.D. That era is called the Old Empire, and its center was in Guatemala, where the ruins of about twenty-five great cities have been located. That era was truly their Grand Age, for in that time great achievements were made in art, architecture, literature, mathematics, astronomy, and religious organization. The pleasing designs of the palaces and temples, the beauty of the sculpture and pottery, are evidence that these people had achieved truly great expressions of beauty such as are rare in the history of mankind. In addition, by an advanced system of mathematics and astronomy these early Mayas developed a calendar more accurate than the one used by the later Spanish conquerors. Finally, the Mayan

cities, not otherwise closely united, were bound together in spirit by the worship of the same gods. Their religion made a definite distinction between good and evil, with due reward or punishment in after life.

The second zenith of Mayan achievement followed the decline of the Old Empire, when a new empire arose in northern Yucatán. From about 900 to 1200 A.D. it thrived on many of the achievements of the earlier age. Then from Mexico came the aggressive Toltec Indians. They moved in and took over the Mayan system. But like many people who live on borrowed ideas and tools they did not understand nor take good care of the things they borrowed. They did, however, keep alive many of the old ideas, like the calendar, which they handed down to later generations. The center of the Toltec Empire was near Mexico City, where these Indians built great pyramids at which they assembled for mass religious ceremonies. They decorated some of their temples with dragons' heads called feathered serpents in memory of one of their great men whose name was Quetzalcoatl, which means "feathered serpent."

Quetzalcoatl was so named for two reasons: he was wise, and he had a mustache, unlike his fellow Indians. He was a pale-faced man who had come among the Toltecs mysteriously and had shown them how to make so many remarkable improvements that they had chosen him emperor. He built up industry and commerce and was noted also as an artist and a scientist. According to the Toltec legends Quetzalcoatl had told the people that other great white gods would come among them after his death. The legend lived on, and thus when Cortés and his men arrived, the Indians of Mexico thought they must be the gods their hero had spoken of. We wonder if, by any chance, this Quetzalcoatl could have been a white man, or the half-breed son of a white man, who had drifted across the Atlantic and into the Gulf of Mexico in a little fishing boat, and who, since he had been unable to return, had lived among the Indians and taught them many new things. It is interesting to speculate.

After the time of Quetzalcoatl the Toltec Empire fell into decay. Then a group of central Mexican tribes, known as Aztecs, formed an alliance and began conquering neighboring villages. By the time of Columbus they had built up the great Aztec Empire. They too borrowed many of the earlier Mayan ideas, but they were not quite the artists and scientists the Mayas were. They excelled as warriors and organizers. At the head of the empire was a chief whose despotic powers were only slightly checked by a council of nobles and priests. The capital, Tenochtitlán, was divided into four sections, each having its war chief and its military force. Judges appointed by the Aztec monarch ruled harshly in the name of their emperor and meted out cruel punishments. As other tribes were conquered, they were given a similar severe government. In addition, the Aztecs had a group of hungry gods who constantly required offerings of flowers, fruits, and small animals. In this group the god of war ranked high. According to the early Spanish writers he could be appeased only by the sacrifice of human beings selected from among enemy prisoners. Thus to satisfy that god the Aztecs must always be at war.

The crowning achievement of the Aztecs was their capital, Tenochtitlán, which later became Mexico City. Built in Lake Tezcoco, it was connected with the shore by broad roadways of stone and cement, with drawbridges that could be raised to prevent the approach of an enemy. The city contained one wide avenue running through the center; elsewhere it had both streets for footmen and canals for boatmen. On making the round of the capital the observer might see large stone houses, several palaces, a score or more of temple pyramids, wooden houses built on poles driven into the marshes, floating gardens of vegetables and flowers, and a busy market place filled with thousands of traders. This city, founded as a village of grass huts in about 1325, had a population of more than 200,000 when Cortés arrived.

The Mayas, by virtue of their progress in art and science, are often spoken of as the Greeks of early America. The Aztecs, skilled in warfare and organization, are sometimes called the

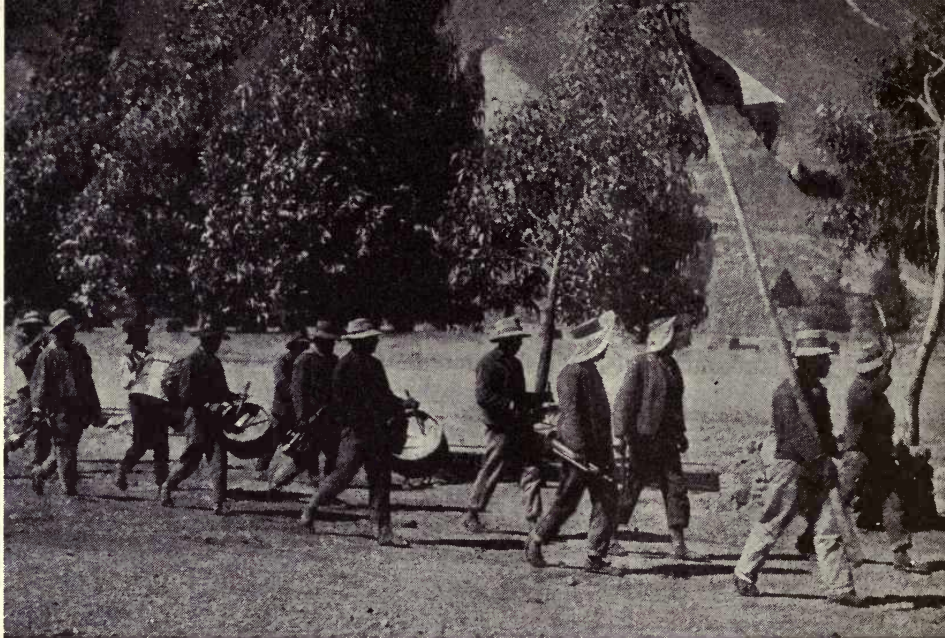
Romans of this continent. They occupied one part of our first zone, and the remarkable Incas lived in the other. The Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas were the most advanced of the American Indians. Yet with all their advancement they had not invented the wheel or learned to make effective use of iron. If left alone, probably it would have taken them a long time to reach a stage of civilization like that later created in America by the European invaders. Nonetheless, their achievements were great, and today this is a source of pride to their many descendants, who now include a large part of the people of Central America, central Mexico, and western South America.

The second of our four zones (page 144) included tribes living in Central America, western and northern Mexico, and

These ruins are part of the temple of Quetzalcoatl in Teotihuacán, Mexico, which was built long before Columbus left Spain

De Cou from Ewing Galloway





James Sawders

The Indian loves a fiesta,
and here is an Indian band in a mountain valley of Peru on its way to take part in one

northwestern South America. The names of these Indians—the Pueblos, the Pimas, the Mixtecas, the Chibchas, and others—are not widely known. They were farmers, living a settled life. Some built houses of stone, others of adobe, and others of bamboo and grass. The several-storied, many-celled stone and adobe houses of the Pueblo Indians in our Southwest have been dubbed the first American apartment houses. The tribes in Mexico built pyramids and temples. Farther south, in modern Colombia, lived the Chibchas, who are remembered for their legend of El Dorado. It was the custom for one of their chiefs to powder himself with gold dust and then bathe in a lake. Stories of this became exaggerated into wild tales about a golden man, which naturally interested the Spanish explorers immensely.

The population of this second zone numbered millions, and they were considerably advanced in civilization. They lacked, however, many of the complex and remarkable attainments

of the tribes of our first zone, or the Maya-Aztec and the Inca centers.

Our third zone (page 144) was composed of areas of woodland in the eastern part of the two continents and on the islands between. In North America the names of the tribes are familiar. They were the Indians of the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean families, all prominent in our own early history. On the islands and along the north coast of South America the Arawaks and Caribs were numerous and important groups. The name of the latter is easily remembered because from it the word Caribbean is derived. In the same class belonged the Tupís of eastern Brazil and the more noted Guaranís of the Plata valley. All the Indians of this zone made their living partly by farming and partly by hunting. They were formerly wandering tribes which were beginning to settle down, build wigwams, and till the soil. Consequently they had erected no great monuments and had learned little about architecture, numbers, astronomy, and the like. But their life close to nature did make them a hardy, resourceful people.

The last of our four zones (page 144) was comprised of the remainder of the two continents. In North America it included the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountain region, the west coast, and the northern Canadian woodlands. In South America it extended from the Brazilian Highlands down through Argentina and Chile. Some of the larger Indian families in this zone were the Siouan, the Athapaskan, the Shoshonian, the northern Algonquian, and the Eskimo, all of North America; the Tapuyan, the Araucanian, the Patagonian, and the Fuegian, in South America. These Indian tribes were nomadic, wandering from place to place, making camp wherever the hunting was good. Their whole civilization was adjusted to this unsettled, outdoor life. They were independent and tough, hard to run down and bring under control.

Of what significance were the people who were living in America when Columbus came? They were important then and later, and more so in Latin America than in the United States and Canada. The regions conquered by the Spaniards con-

tained a large Indian population and all of the two more advanced zones. There the invaders found a civilization they could understand as soon as they learned the language. Since the natives were too numerous to kill off, and since a supply of laborers was badly needed, the Spanish conquerors learned how to move among the tribes and take advantage of their superstitions and jealousies. They took over the high offices in Indian society and then played off one tribe against another. They thought they were absorbing the Indians into Spanish civilization, but sometimes the Indians gradually absorbed the conquerors. Today in some of the countries the natives and mestizos are back in control again. Thus Indian blood and background is of tremendous importance in those parts of Latin America covered by our first two zones.

In North America the English came into contact with natives of only our third and fourth zones. The population was sparse and the civilization primitive. The invaders were slow to understand the ways of these Indians, who were hard to conquer and control. The tribes kept moving away and fighting back. Consequently the natives did not become laborers for the white men to any great extent, even though a supply of labor was badly needed by them. Instead, a frontier line appeared, dividing the two civilizations.

The English dealt with the Indians as with any foreign nation. They traded, made treaties, and fought wars with them, steadily pushing back the frontier line to make room for more settlers. An interesting fact is that when the Spaniards and Portuguese in South America ran into Indians of the third and fourth zones, they had an experience similar to that of the English in North America. They failed to enslave the natives and, instead, fought with them and pushed them back. This was true in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil. There the natives suffered a fate similar to that of the Indians in North America, and today the population of these countries is predominantly white except in Brazil, which is white and Negro. This means that the kind of treatment the natives received, whether in North America or South America, was chiefly

the result of the different types of Indian civilization that the conquerors found in these American zones.

The native peoples were important in many ways in Latin American history. They showed the invaders how to till the land where they lived. They yielded to them the secrets of many new crops and wild plants. When they fought back fiercely they unwittingly taught the newcomers lessons in savage warfare and how to travel and live in the American forest. They told the Spaniards tales of great riches that lay somewhere "beyond the mountains" or "on the South Sea." By thus enticing the conquerors on and on, the Indians stimulated rapid, penetrating exploration.

The first effect of the contact between the two races was bad. The mingling of the two races caused a decay of old standards and much confusion, which we call social disorganization. In parts of Latin America the conflict of races occurred on such a large scale and continued so long that the people are even now only beginning to recover from some of the bad effects.

Finally, the Indians have left their record in many musical place names and in many words borrowed by us from their language. Teotihuacán, Zochimilco, Mérida, Guatemala, Guayaquil, Arequipa, Paraná, Iguassú, and an endless list of other names are Indian with an Hispanic spelling.

The influence of the Indians on the course of life in Latin America was thus destined to be felt strongly; so strongly indeed that in the northern and mountainous regions the *Indians are now numerically the real Latin Americans*. Little did the native people or the Europeans who were to come realize that their different civilizations would in time blend together into something new. To understand many of our Hispanic neighbors, then, we must bear in mind their ancient origin, their past glory, and the long struggle they waged before they built for themselves a new civilization.

EUROPE PREPARES

The land of the two continents and the native people would not have produced modern America without the aid of the white man. But the white man's home was in Europe, and before he could extend his influence across the sea he had European problems to solve.

Before 1500 most of Europe had been in what we call its Middle Age, or the long period between ancient and modern times. The main features of that period had been its rural life and its serfdom, feudalism, and Catholicism. The land, divided into manors, was held by lords and cultivated by serfs. The serfs were not exactly slaves, but they could not leave their manor. In return for their services, the lord and his warriors, the knights, gave them protection against bandit bands and neighboring enemies. The lords were united loosely in a way of life called feudalism, one lord owing military support and tribute to another, he to another, and so on. This created a spider web of connections so complex and loose that perhaps it should not be called a system. While feudalism existed there were no nations in the modern sense.

However, all these lords and their underlings of civilized Europe were greatly influenced by the Catholic Church. The people of village and farm were ministered to by the many priests, who were under bishops, and the bishops in turn were headed by the Pope in Rome. The Church included many monastic orders, such as Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites, which people joined in order to forget about worldly evils and give their lives to religious activities. Because of this Church influence there was extreme emphasis throughout Europe on preparation for the after-life. From their priests the people received the sacraments thought to be necessary to attain salvation. Many spent their entire lives in a monastery, where by following its severe rules they were assured of admission into the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Church, its priests, and its orders were thus very influential. They directed the building of the great church structures

of the Middle Ages. They controlled education and thought. They saw to it that art and music were devoted to religious themes. They set the moral standards of the age, which were very high. In fact the standards were so idealistic that few ordinary people could live up to them. Finally, the men of the Church strove ever to stamp out all heresy, to bring the heathen into the fold, and to prevent the rise of any rival form of religion.

The influence of lords and churchmen over the lives of the people was, however, upset by great changes that spread through the continent and finally, about 1500 A.D., created a new Europe. In Italy trade with Asia grew important. Then the center of trading activities moved to Spain and Portugal and later to France, Holland, and England. Trade stimulated ship-building and manufacturing. Thus towns arose and began to attract serfs from the countryside. In the towns the serfs became free men who worked for wages and used the money to buy the things they needed. In many places industry and greater freedom began to supplant rural life and serfdom.

As industry grew, it gave rise to modern capitalism, with its money and banking. People were beginning to see the power of money. Townsmen used it to buy from local lords the privilege of running their own town government. The lords used their growing wealth to buy influence, to build an army, and to conquer less-favored neighboring lands. The more successful of these lords soon became little kings of small nations. In this way modern capitalism and nationalism grew side by side. Then, as a few of the nations absorbed surrounding states, their kings grew more wealthy and more powerful. Never satisfied, they wanted to acquire even more wealth and power. They were ready to undertake great tasks, like the conquering of new lands across the seas.

In the meantime students who had become interested in science and humanity began to criticize the long-accepted doctrines and the emphasis on the after-life maintained by the Church. Further, they claimed that the Church had grown wealthy and corrupt, and was in need of reformation. As this

movement in thought gained more followers it stirred a great intellectual awakening, called the Renaissance. One result of this awakening was the scientific research that brought into use the inventions of printing, gunpowder, better ships, and the compass, all of which gave Europeans new powers.

At first the students who criticized the Church did not intend to break away from it. But when the boldness of a few of the critics aroused the wrath of churchmen, they were ready to revolt. At the same time the kings of the rising nations wanted to run religious affairs in their own countries without interference from the Pope. Critics and kings then joined hands, in northern Europe, and broke away from papal rule. They formed their own churches—Lutheran in Germany and Denmark and Sweden, Dutch Reformed in Holland, Anglican in England, and Presbyterian in Scotland. But this Protestant Revolt, or Reformation, as it was called, soon got out of hand, and dozens of other church organizations sprang up to challenge the power and doctrines of their fellow Protestants.

The Catholic Church, disturbed by the success of the revolt, undertook a great reform program of its own. As a part of this program the Inquisition was used to prevent the further spread of damaging ideas. As another part the Society of Jesus was formed in 1540. This new order, known as Jesuits, was made up of teachers and soldiers of the Cross, men who would labor aggressively to restore the influence of their Church and find new converts in heathen lands. By these means France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were saved for the Church. They remained strongholds of Catholicism, while northern Europe split into many Protestant sects. Portugal and Spain founded Latin America; northern Europe founded the colonies later to become the United States.

Each of the great changes in Europe was in its own way preparing that continent for expansion into new lands, but the changes did not take place in the same manner or at the same time in all parts of the continent. For one thing, Spain and Portugal became wealthy, centralized nations earlier than France, Holland, and England. Spain first became strong



Grace Line

This is one of the oldest churches in South America, built by the early Spaniards. There is real beauty in its simple architecture

through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, who as the rulers of two north-central provinces of this country thus united these provinces into one. Then by the conquest of adjoining states and by the clever use of their power, they welded Spain into a nation. This was probably the chief reason that Columbus looked to Spain for aid and that Spain was in a position to assume leadership in exploring and colonizing the New World. It was no accident; Spain was simply ready first.

When that nation founded colonies in the New World, it was only natural that it should try to establish in them institutions like those of the homeland. Spain was a powerful monarchy in which the little fellow had a very weak voice. There had once been some strong local cortes, or governing councils, but Ferdinand had shorn them of power. The country was run by the king's governors and inspectors. Only in some of the towns did the town council, called the *cabildo*, name its own officers.

Another strong institution, of course, was the Church. In fact, Ferdinand and Isabella were so devoted to the Church that the Pope gave them a stronger hand in running church affairs in Spain than he would concede to rulers of other countries. In return the king and queen used their influence in church affairs to command loyal obedience and thus to strengthen the position of themselves and of Spain. At that time there were many monasteries in the country, mostly of the strict orders known as Dominican and Franciscan, and later there were to be many active Jesuits. These orders were eager to wage a crusade in other lands for the winning of converts. Therefore they could be expected to take a great interest in the New World.

Spanish society had three classes. At the top were the great men of the Church, the wealthy noblemen, and the prominent gentlemen (*hidalgos*). The small middle class was made up of priests, merchants, and craftsmen. At the foot of the scale were the serfs and an increasing body of free laborers. The growth of commerce was having its effect, but it had not put an end to serfdom in Spain, and would not for a long time to come. The Spanish practice by which lords controlled both the

land and the serfs was called the *encomienda*. The upper class, thus dependent on the labor of serfs, or of conquered Moorish slaves, considered themselves above manual labor. Further, they handed down their great estates intact, from father to eldest son, generation after generation, as was the custom in England and most countries of Europe.

That, in summary, was Spanish society at the time of Columbus. Into its making had gone the contributions of many other peoples—Romans, Goths, Jews, and Moors. By 1500 the nation was strong and prosperous, ready to play a major part in world affairs. After Ferdinand's death, Charles V ruled for half a century, and under him Spain continued to be the most powerful nation in Europe. Under his successor, Philip II, who was emperor until close to 1600, things began to go wrong. This was partly the result of the extravagance of the nobles, who were spending their money for imported luxuries, but it was also due to the fact that Spain lacked many of the resources necessary for leadership in an age when iron manufactures were becoming important. France and England were better favored. As they moved to the front, Spain could not keep up with them. She was hard pressed to hold together her colonial empire in the New World, and finally lost it two centuries later.

Spain's small neighbor, Portugal, was also one of the early modern nations. It seems strange that Portugal was not made a part of Spain. But it was able to withstand pressure from Spain largely because England gave it support and helped maintain it as a separate country. Portuguese institutions were similar to those of Spain, but its language was different. There was also another difference. Portugal's people were a mixture of many races, including Negroes. Portugal was closer to Africa than Spain was; consequently there had been intermarriage with African Negroes, and as a result the Portuguese long ago were inclined to forget about race differences and prejudice.

The sailors of Portugal helped pave the way for the discovery of America. In 1415 Prince Henry had founded a school for navigators, in which seamen studied their science and went forth to explore Africa and the Atlantic. They learned to over-

come their fears and to venture a little farther each time. In 1486, or six years before the discovery of America, one of these Portuguese seamen, named Bartholomeu Dias, sailed down the west coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1497 Vasco da Gama followed with a voyage around Africa to India. The Portuguese soon built up a prosperous trade with Asia, which so absorbed their interest that they came near to losing out in America entirely. Nevertheless, by their early adventures on the Atlantic they had helped prepare the way for the voyages of Columbus. Later the ships of Magellan, one of their famous navigators, were the first to sail around the world.

In national power, in spirit of conquest, in religious zeal, in wealth and ambition, in imaginative mind, and in experience at sea, the Hispanic peoples were prepared by 1500 for the greatest adventure of modern times.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Why are Latin Americans proud of their Indian background?

2. Why were the Indians of Latin America more important in history than those north of Mexico?

3. What finally became of the natives living in each of the four zones?

4. Why are Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay white man's countries?

5. Why did Europe have to undergo some changes before it could overflow into America?

6. What are some of the ways in which Spain and Portugal of 1500 were different from England of that date?

TO WRITE . 1. Study pictures of modern life in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes, and write about the Indian traits that are seen to be still prominent.

2. Make a table with three columns, showing in the first the main features of the European Middle Ages, in the second the

kind of changes that took place in these features, and in the third the modern features in the new Europe, or the characteristics resulting from the changes listed in the middle column.

3. Make a time chart of the events and rulers in Spain and Portugal during the period of their rise and leadership.

TO TELL . 1. Investigate life among the modern Maya, Aztec, or Inca Indians, and report to the class.

2. Read about Ferdinand and Isabella, or Charles V, or Philip II, and tell how they lived and ruled.

TO DO . 1. Visit a museum where Indian relics of Latin America are exhibited.

2. Make a scrapbook of pictures of Indian life.

3. On an outline map draw lines representing the boundaries of the four Indian zones, showing by key numbers what tribes lived in each zone.

TO DEFINE . clan, gens (jenz), communal, nomadic, social disorganization, Middle Ages, serfdom, feudalism, monasteries, sacraments, capitalism, nationalism, institutions

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

JONES, TOM B. *An Introduction to Hispanic American History*, Chaps. I, II. Harper & Brothers, New York.

JORDAN, E. L. *Americans: A New History of the Peoples Who Settled the Americas*, Chaps. IV, V. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York.

PECK, ANNE M. *The Pageant of South American History*, Section One. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

[Books]

- EMBREE, EDWIN. *Indians of the Americas*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- GANN, T. W. F., and THOMPSON, J. E. *History of the Maya*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- MEAD, C. W. *Old Civilizations of Inca Land*. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- VERRILL, A. H. *American Indian Civilizations*. Tudor Publishing Co., New York.
- VERRILL, A. H. *Old Civilizations of the New World*. New Home Library, New York.

FOURTH UNIT

THE CONQUERORS

The islands Columbus discovered turned out to be steppingstones leading to two continents. Columbus and other early explorers felt their way from isle to isle and around the Gulf and Caribbean coast. They learned the lay of the land. Then, with the Spanish flag securely planted on the island bases, the conquerors next turned an ear to the stories of great cities and great wealth to be found on the mainland. The stories proved to be true.

The Spanish conquest of the mainland called for courage and strength. Small bands of men, some in heavy armor and others in the long robes of priests, burned their ships behind them and cut their way through steaming jungle and through brush and cactus. They climbed the mountain heights, dared disease and hunger, and subdued great hordes of hostile Indians. In short order these daring Spanish adventurers explored Florida, Mexico, Central America, the northern Andes, Chile, the Mississippi Valley, and our dry Southwest. They founded three main bases on the mainland, in Mexico, in Panama, and in Peru, from which the exploring and settling expeditions operated. After only half a century the Spaniards occupied, besides the Indies, the mountain region from central Mexico to central Chile.

The conquerors did more than search for gold. They built homes and churches. They organized the labor of the Indians and established missions on the frontier. They used in trade the products of the mines, of the soil, and of the labor of Indians and Negroes. They used ideas from the homeland in order to set up a system of government for the colonies as a whole and for each newly conquered locality. They created

four main social classes based on race, each with its own way of life. They founded schools and universities, and they wrote many books of poetry, of travel experiences, and of a more scholarly kind. All this was a part of the conquest of Middle and South America.

After much of the New World had thus been brought firmly under Spanish influence, later pioneers journeyed north and south to fill in the borders. In the north they took possession of what is now Florida, northern Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In the south they occupied Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay. Meanwhile the Portuguese had settled in Brazil, where they were now filling in more and more of the coastal region and part of the interior. There they were founding a society similar in its main features to that of Spanish America.

All that was left of America for the English and French was the wide central and northern part of the northern continent. Not until a century after the Spaniards began their conquest, however, were permanent colonies planted in the northland. Those colonies, especially those founded by the English, turned out to be different in many ways from those of the Hispanic lands. Many of these differences have continued to our own time.

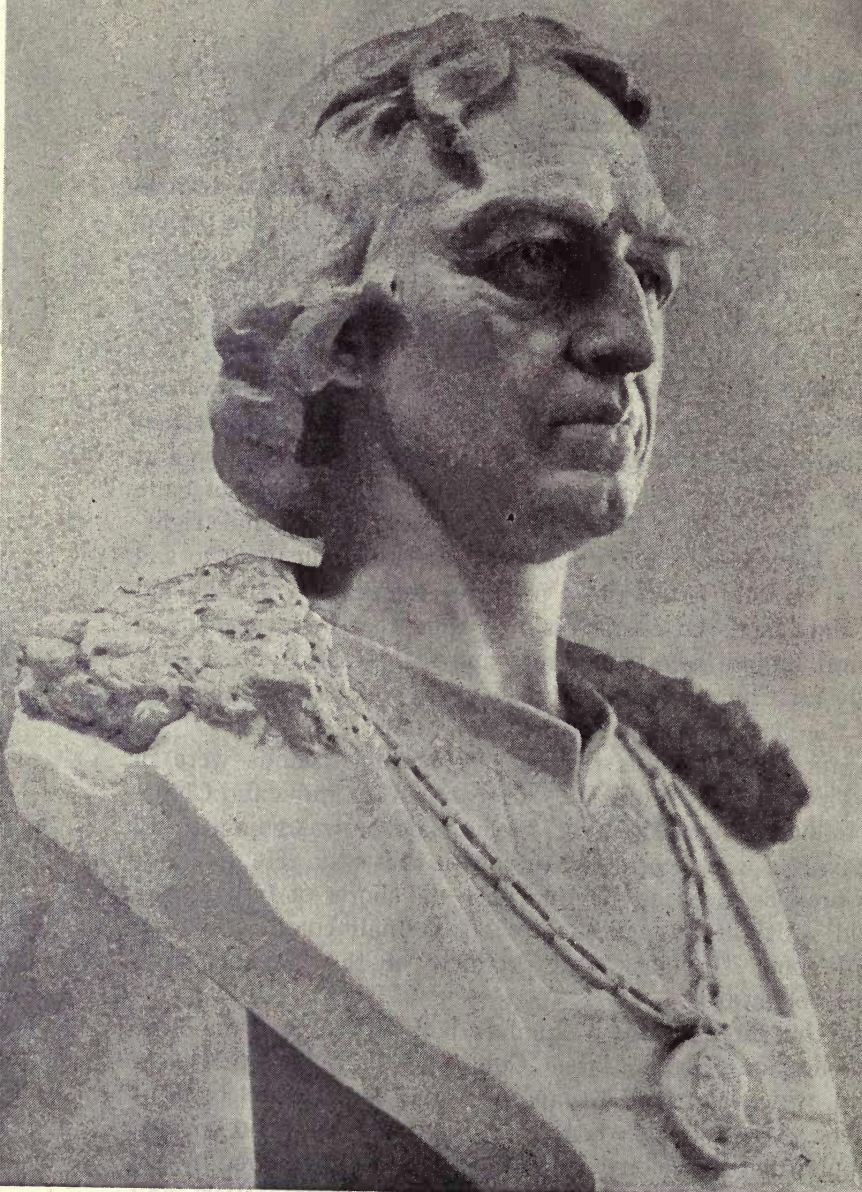
ISLAND STEPPINGSTONES

America was "discovered" several times before Columbus made his eventful journey, if the tales told by a number of earlier European sailors are true. But nothing resulted from these discoveries because Europe was not ready for the period of exploration. When finally Europe was prepared, Columbus discovered the new lands, perhaps by accident.

The maps prepared for Columbus by the European geographers made it appear that if he would sail west about four thousand miles he would be in Asia. But the maps were wrong. It is hard to say whether Columbus would have undertaken the journey if he had known how far it really was to India and China. When he thought he should be there he had not gone half the true distance. His men were weary, hungry, and frightened. Their determined admiral kept persuading them to sail on and on, and he offered a prize for the seaman who should first sight land. Of course his men knew that by all means the admiral should have that honor, and so it turned out. Fortunately for Columbus and his men, there was land in midsea—land the geographers had not known about.

Naturally Columbus thought the strange islands were in that group southeast of Asia. He searched for India and China, but found neither. However, he had said he was going to sail to Asia and was determined to have it that way. He made his men promise to swear they had seen the shores of India, or he would split their tongues. He left a small colony, took on board some "Indians" and products of the "Indies," and sailed homeward.

On that first voyage Columbus had visited first the little island of San Salvador, then Cuba and Haiti. On the latter island, which he called Española, he had left a small band of settlers. A year later, when he returned on his second voyage, he found that his colony had been completely destroyed by the Indians. However, he had brought many more settlers and supplies of livestock, seeds, and provisions. The new colony established on Española was not a great success at first, how-



James Sawders

There is no authentic likeness of Columbus, but the sculptor Horatio Rubens has carved in white Carrara marble the face of a strong Genoese. On the medallion hanging from the chain about his neck is the portrait of a bearded man. Who might this be?

ever. When Columbus went on to explore Cuba and Jamaica, the colonists suffered from disease, disputes, and shortage of provisions. On his return to the island he and his brother, Bartholomew, managed to strengthen the colony and to defeat the hostile natives.

Later the discoverer returned to Spain to equip a third expedition. This time, in 1498, he had six ships and two hundred colonists. He sent the colonists to Española, while he with three of the ships turned south to make further exploration. After they had explored the north coast of South America, they joined the colonists at a new town, Santo Domingo, on the south shore of Española. There conditions were bad. Moreover, the rulers of Spain knew things were not going well with the colony, and in 1500 they sent out a new governor, a harsh man, who put Columbus in irons. That year Columbus was sent back to Spain, where he pleaded for restoration of his rights. This he was promised, and in 1502 he sailed on his fourth and final voyage, on which he explored the coast of Central America. He was still searching for a passageway through the mainland to India, but of course he found none. In his ambition to open a new route to Asia Columbus had failed. As a governor of colonies he had failed. Nevertheless, his discovery of new lands won him a prominent place in the world's hall of fame.

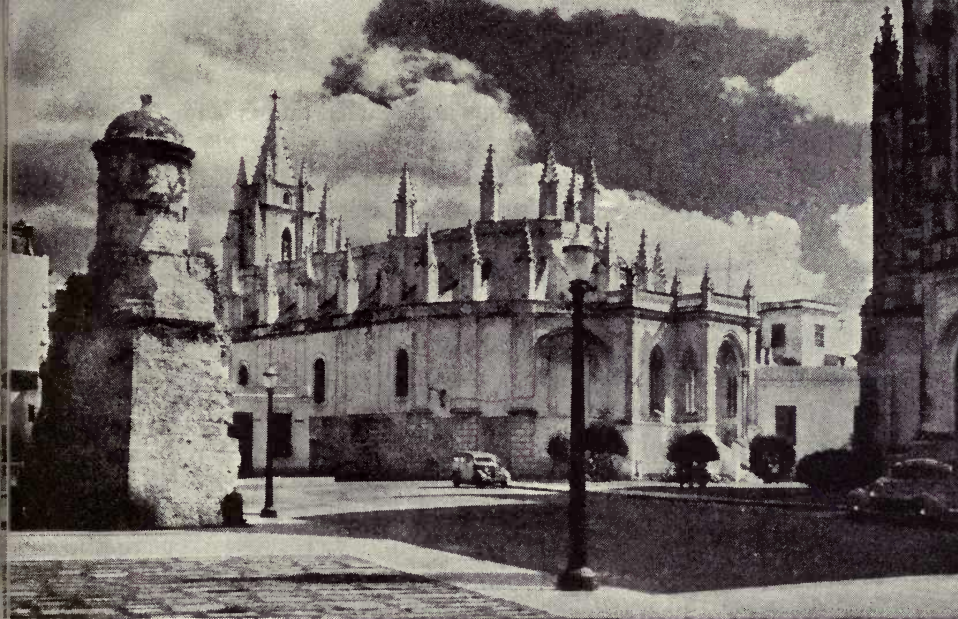
The story of Columbus is part of our own history, because his work led indirectly to the founding of the English colonies a century later. But it is primarily a part of Latin American history, for it led directly and immediately to further Hispanic exploration and colonization. In 1502, when Nicolás de Ovando brought an expedition of thirty-two ships to Española, the languishing colony began to prosper. Six years later a settlement was made in Cuba, and the next year one was planted on the mainland. It was located on the Gulf of Darién, which is bordered by Colombia and Panama. Next, in 1511, Juan Ponce de León began the development of the island of Puerto Rico.

Meanwhile from these bases many exploring expeditions had skirted the shores of the islands and mainland. In 1500 Vicente

Yáñez Pinzón of Spain sailed along the north coast of South America. He saw what is now Brazil a little before Pedrálvarez Cabral of Portugal touched those shores, that same year. But Cabral's voyage is the more famous because it later strengthened Portugal's claim to that part of South America. Pinzón continued his explorations. In 1506 he sailed along the coast of Central America and two years later went down the east side of Brazil.

In 1513 Ponce de León crossed from the islands to Florida, in search of the "fountain of youth" of which a Carib captive had told him. His was the first Spanish expedition to the mainland of North America of which we have record. In that same year Vasco Núñez de Balboa made his momentous discovery. As a planter in Española he had fallen heavily in debt. To escape his creditors he hid in a barrel and went as a stowaway to Darién on the mainland. There he learned from the Indians of a great ocean beyond the mountains. He reported this to the king, Charles V of Spain, and then, too impatient to await instructions, he enlisted one hundred ninety volunteers and started westward. The men waded through fever-infested swamps, chopped their way through tropical thickets, and laboriously climbed the mountain range. After twenty-four days they came within sight of the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), but they traveled four days more before they reached it. After laying claim to this vast ocean in the name of Spain, Balboa led the men safely back to the Caribbean coast, and from the king he obtained an appointment as Governor of the South Sea, or the lands on the west coast of South America. But to be a governor in fact, he had to have colonies. Pedrárias, the jealous old rascal who had become governor of Darién, now put all kinds of obstacles in Balboa's way. He finally charged that the determined explorer was guilty of treason and had him beheaded.

Another of these early explorers, Alonso de Pineda, deserves mention. In 1519 he sailed around the entire Gulf of Mexico, making a map of the shore line. Thus before 1520 the Gulf region and parts of the coasts of North, Central, and South



United Fruit Co.

This beautiful cathedral in Havana, Cuba, stands opposite the Presidential Palace

America had been explored. The island steppingstones had served as convenient bases from which the approach to two continents and to the Pacific Ocean had been made. The time was ripe for thrilling adventures on the mainland.

THE GREAT ADVENTURERS

After 1515 the center of Spanish activities in America shifted to Cuba, larger and more prosperous than Española. To Cuba came rumors that there were cities and gold in what is now Mexico. Soon the court of the governor hummed with talk of a great expedition to explore and conquer the mainland. Prominent noblemen were seeking the appointment as head of the expedition, but they did not get it. Instead a younger and less well-known man named Hernando Cortés won the honor by doing some scheming with the governor's secretaries. While the noblemen protested the appointment of this untitled man,

Cortés rushed his preparations and started on his way. Though the governor then sent messengers demanding his return, he gave no heed. Another expedition, under Pánfilo de Narváez, was at once dispatched to stop Cortés and bring him back to Cuba.

Cortés, keeping ahead of his pursuers, landed his small band of warriors, probably about five hundred, near the present Vera Cruz, and ordered his ships destroyed. From two interpreters that he secured he heard of a town where gold might be found. There he and his small band came abruptly face to face with an army of thousands of Indians. But the natives were frightened by a few of the Spaniards who were on horseback and had steel armor and guns. Horses, steel, and guns were new to the Indians and won Cortés his first victory. This gave him confidence to continue. Something else was also working in his favor. The Aztec Indians had been expecting white gods to come to their land someday, as Quetzalcoatl had said, and now they wondered if these strange men were the gods.

The emboldened warriors climbed the mountain trail to Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital. One of the men later recalled that as they approached the city on a causeway over Lake Tezcoco, it was "crowded with people, as were all the towers, temples, and causeways in every part of the lake, attracted by curiosity to behold men, and animals, such as never had been before seen in these countries." He admitted, however, that he and his companions "were occupied by very different thoughts," for they had been told that they were all to be put to death upon their arrival in the city. "And now," he asked, "let who can, tell me, where are men in this world to be found, except ourselves, who would have hazarded such an attempt?"¹ Once inside the city, the men boldly seized the Aztec chief, and Cortés took charge of the government. Then word arrived that Narváez was approaching. Cortés met him near Vera Cruz and defeated him, but when he returned to the capital he found

¹Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *A True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (Translated by Maurice Keatinge), p. 162. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York.



Acme

The rubber-bearing shrub guayule grows on the semiarid plains of northern Mexico

the Aztecs in revolt. After a bloody struggle the Spaniards were forced to withdraw. Soon they returned with Indian and Spanish re-enforcements and reconquered Tenochtitlán, which was then renamed Mexico City. Within another year Cortés had subdued the Indian tribes living in that vicinity.

The conquest of central Mexico created a second Spanish center on the mainland, the first having been Darién, previously mentioned. From these two points the Spaniards overran the territory lying between. Soon there were a dozen jealous, selfish conquerors in Central America. In their wild scramble for riches they fought with nature, with the Indians, and with one another. Two names stand out. One is that of Pedro de Alvarado, a lieutenant of Cortés, who opened much of Central

America as far south as the present state of El Salvador. The other name is that of Bartolomé de las Casas, known as the apostle to the Indians.

Las Casas had been a planter in Cuba, but his spirit revolted at the way the Indians were being enslaved. He returned to Spain, joined the Dominican religious order, wrote a book about the mistreatment of the natives, and sought to prove that friendship and Christianity would be more effective than warfare and slavery. In 1532 he came to what is now Nicaragua to preach his ideas. He obtained permission from the authorities in Mexico to try them out in Honduras during a five-year period beginning in 1536. That was a real test; for Honduras, "the land of war," was a most unfriendly place. But Las Casas was a success. He won the friendship and co-operation of the natives so completely that Honduras came to be known for a time as "the land of true peace."

While expansion of the conquered area was proceeding in Mexico and Central America, Pánfilo de Narváez became governor of Florida (1527). He had been defeated by Cortés, but later had joined him in the conquest of Mexico. He had decided to attempt a similar conquest of Florida and find rich booty for himself. He sailed from Spain, landed his six hundred men at Tampa Bay, sent the ships westward toward Mexico, and marched at once into the heart of the Indian country. There the natives lay in ambush for him and crushed him completely. He and the other survivors retreated to the coast, but before they could escape by sea they had to build their own ships. On the masts of their hastily constructed ships they stretched their shirts for sails and moved slowly along the coast in the direction of Mexico.

These inadequate boats of Narváez failed to weather the storms, and the ships and most of the men were destroyed. A few survivors went inland, probably in the vicinity of present Louisiana. Among them was Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. His name is often given as Cabeza de Vaca, the latter part of his surname; but Núñez, or Álvaro Núñez, is correct, if any abbreviation is to be used. For a while this Spanish gentle-

man, now a slave among the Indians, struggled for his very existence. Finally, by using his knowledge of religion and healing, he became a kind of missionary doctor, and the Indians honored him as a great medicine man. He healed the sick and injured as he worked his way westward from tribe to tribe.

Álvar Núñez learned that three other survivors of the ill-fated expedition were also living among the Indians. He got in touch with them, and all four journeyed westward across what is now Texas and northern Mexico, until they learned that they were near a Spanish settlement. Then in 1535 they said farewell to their Indian friends and joined a party of Spaniards they had encountered. At first the latter could hardly believe that these bearded, haggard men were Spaniards, and neither could the Indians. As Núñez related afterwards, the Indians said "that we cured the sick while the others [Spaniards] killed those that were healthy; that we went naked and shoeless, whereas the others wore clothes and went on horseback with lances. Also, that we asked for nothing, but gave away all we were presented with, meanwhile the others seemed to have no other aim than to steal what they could, and never gave to anybody."¹ Soon Núñez returned to Spain, where the journal of his experiences was printed and became one of the best-seller travel books of his day. His account stimulated great interest in the New World and its natives.

At the same time that Narváez and Núñez were starting on their fateful expedition to Florida, Francisco Pizarro was exploring in the other direction, from Darién. As a boy in Spain, Pizarro had been a herder of swine and had lived the hard life of a boy of illegitimate birth. Knowing that his father had been a nobleman, he was fired with an ambition to do some deed that would earn him the title of hidalgo and give him the right to display his father's coat of arms. He saw his chance in the thwarted dream of Balboa. He would lead an expedition into the South Sea and find honor and riches in the mountains of the southern continent.

¹*The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* . . . (Translated by Fanny R. Bandelier), pp. 171-172. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

In 1526 Pizarro had gone as far south as Ecuador, which caused the king of Spain to give him authority to conquer that country and Peru. Already he had won the coveted titles of *hidalgo* and captain general of Peru. In 1531, with only two hundred men, he set sail again. At the Gulf of Guayaquil he learned from the natives that for the first time in centuries the Inca Empire was torn with strife. It had been divided into two parts, ruled by the two quarreling sons of a former Inca. The northern Inca, Atahualpa, had recently finished the conquest of the southern region and had taken his brother prisoner. This strife and unrest played into the hands of the Spaniards.

Pizarro sent word to Atahualpa that he was coming into the mountains to see him and then boldly marched his small force into the midst of the large army commanded by the Inca. There the richly dressed Indian ruler, seated on a throne of gold, received Pizarro, and both at first professed friendliness. A Spanish monk stepped forward and told the Inca and his followers the story of Christ. But Atahualpa replied: "I do not submit to strangers, Christ has no message for me. I recognize only the all-powerful Sun as the creator of the world." Whereupon Atahualpa threw the Bible to the ground. Pizarro then gave the signal and his men rushed upon the Inca and took him prisoner. At the same time the Spanish horsemen and artillery mowed down two thousand of the Inca's soldiers. By one bold stroke Pizarro had become the ruler of the Inca realm.

The riches of Peru were dazzling. When the Inca offered gold as a ransom for his release from prison, the Spaniards collected in that one deal more than five million dollars' worth of treasure. The gold was so abundant that it had little value in the New World. The soldiers were in immediate need of horses, weapons, tools, and clothing, which their gold would not buy. As a result the price of everything in Peru soared to the sky. This was inflation in an extreme form. The men paid all their debts with ease and had so much gold left that they went on a spree of gambling in astronomical sums.

Other conquerors turned to neighboring lands to try to repeat the success of Pizarro, but none found another Peru. They



James Sawders

Francisco Pizarro reports to Charles V of Spain on the rich lands across the sea

did, however, enlarge the area of Spanish conquest. From Santa Marta, a Spanish village that had been built on the north coast of Colombia in 1525, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada in 1536 followed the terrifying matted jungle along the banks of the Magdalena River southward into the land of the Chibchas. He was seeking the famed El Dorado, and his course was beset with untold hardships. He was aided, however, by division among the Chibchas. Quesada conquered their stronghold and named the land Nueva Granada, but he immediately lost control to other Spaniards. From New Granada and the West Indies expansion was pushed eastward and southward, into what is now Venezuela, where Caracas was founded in 1567.

From Peru Pizarro sent expeditions south and east. In 1535 Diego Almagro set out with five hundred Spaniards and fifteen thousand Peruvian Indians to conquer Chile. He explored the northern part of that country, but famine and suffering forced his return. Three years later he was beheaded by Pizarro during a civil war among the Spanish leaders in Peru, and another man, Pedro de Valdivia, took up his work.

Valdivia's expedition marched south across the desert, won the first encounters with the Indians, and founded the city of Santiago (1541). Other towns were built to the south, but there expansion was slowed down by the fierce Araucanian Indians. These hostile natives raided the farms and towns repeatedly, but the settlers held on in grim determination. In 1641 a frontier line between whites and Indians was agreed upon. It ran east and west along the Bío-Bío River, and the land south of the river was Indian territory. The whites, however, crossed it frequently, and more Indian depredations followed. Instead of taking control of the Indian tribes, as other Spaniards had done in Middle America and in Peru, these conquerors fought bloody frontier wars, pushed back the natives, and laid out farms. The story of early Chile is thus much like that of our own Middle West.

From Peru another party, led by Francisco Orellana, unintentionally explored the Amazon Valley. In 1539 Orellana had gone with the brother of Pizarro to explore the forests east of



the Peruvian Andes. But Orellana's party, separated from the main group, found themselves on a river in which the current was too rapid to permit them to push their small boat back upstream. They could do nothing but drift down the stream and hope to find some way to return. The branch that they were on led them to a great, broad river, and they went down it. On the way they saw Indian tribes whose women fought alongside the braves. They named the river the Amazon, the Greek name for women warriors. Finally, after many weird



James Sawders

The fiesta is one of the events which natives even in remote mountain villages always attend

adventures, Orellana reached the mouth of the Amazon and managed to make his way around the north coast and back to Quito by 1542. However, the Spaniards did not follow up his exploration with conquest and colonization.

During the last years of Orellana's journey, Álvaro Núñez came to South America. As a reward for his exploits in North America he had been appointed governor of the Plata region. As early as 1515 Spanish seamen had found the mouth of the Plata. Later, in 1527, Sebastian Cabot, sailing for Spain, had built a fort on the Paraná River and had returned to try to interest other Europeans in his project. Since no gold had been found there, it was difficult to interest the Spaniards in this area, and it was not until 1535 that a group of colonists came to settle at what is now Buenos Aires. The natives forced them to move up the river, where in 1536 they laid out the town of Asunción, in what is now Paraguay. To reach this

colony our experienced pedestrian and medicine man, Álar Núñez, instead of coming around by sea, marched overland across Brazil to Asunción, and on his way he discovered the great falls of Iguassú.

At Asunción another Spaniard, named Domingo Irala, was in charge when Alvar Núñez arrived in 1542 to assume control as governor. Irala had taken several Indians for wives and had encouraged enslavement of the natives. Núñez did not approve of this. He forthwith ruled out polygamy and Indian slavery, but in so doing he provoked a rebellion of the Spaniards. Charging that their liberties had been taken away, they imprisoned Núñez and shipped him back to Spain. After a prolonged trial the veteran explorer was freed, but his fortune and health were lost. Irala, again in control, restored the liberties of the Spaniards and opened a trail overland to Peru. Over that hard trail the people of this region for years sent out their meager products and obtained the implements and supplies they needed.

Now back to the north again. During the time that Valdivia was conquering Chile, and Núñez was fighting Irala, De Soto was exploring the Mississippi Valley. Hernando de Soto had been with Pizarro and was hoping to find another "Peru" in the interior of North America. He landed in Florida, and by May, 1541, his expedition was on the Mississippi River. Though other men no doubt saw that river before he did, he is generally credited with its discovery. While in camp on the Mississippi De Soto died of fever and his body was lowered into the muddy waters. His men had long been wanting to butcher some of the hogs they had driven with them all the way from Florida, but De Soto had always refused permission. Now that he was no longer there to restrain them, they had a feast on barbecued pork. Besides, they had lost their zeal for further exploration and wanted to get out of the country faster than a hog's pace. They did, and on their way south to Mexico they were surprised to find evidence that some Spaniard had preceded them. On the Indian dwellings were little wooden crosses, erected by the Indians for protection from illness, be-

cause the white medicine man, Álvar Núñez, had used the cross in healing the sick.

While De Soto was on the Mississippi, another Spanish expedition was not far away, but it had come from Mexico. Rumor had it that untold wealth lay waiting in "seven cities" located somewhere north of Mexico. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led an expedition in 1540 to find those cities. He succeeded, but the cities turned out to be ordinary villages of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. Still undaunted, Coronado turned westward until halted by the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. Then he crossed eastward and arrived at another city he was looking for on the plains of Kansas. It turned out to be a mere village of very poor Indians. The true nature of the northern borderland had been learned, and it was a crestfallen Coronado who returned to Mexico City. But considering the fate of many other conquerors, it may have been well for Coronado that he failed to find great riches. He returned to his post as governor of a province in Mexico, served efficiently, and died a natural death many years later.

In only half a century the bold Spanish adventurers had explored the land from the southern part of the present United States to present Chile and Argentina. They had founded settlements in central and western Mexico, in Central America, in the Andean region from Colombia to Chile, and in the upper Plata region. Further, they had explored great rivers and had brought millions of natives under their control. The outline of Latin America was beginning to take shape.

COLONIAL LIFE

By the very nature of the conquest Spanish colonial society soon divided into four main classes, based on race. The peninsulares, the people who were born in Spain, formed the select society. Only they could hold the high offices in the government and Church. They usually acquired wealth and lived in beautiful roomy, Spanish-style residences.

The descendants of the peninsulares were called criollos, or creoles. Though they were of Spanish blood, it was their misfortune to have been born on this side of the Atlantic. The high positions were closed to them, but they did have many opportunities to fill lesser offices and to engage in farming, business, and trade. They were well-to-do and lived comfortably, though not often as luxuriously as the peninsulares. Naturally, as more and more Spanish families came to America the increasing number of children born in the colonies created a larger creole class.

But the class that grew most rapidly was the one made up of mixed blood. In the mountain regions the mixed Indians and whites were called mestizos. Since many of the conquerors were unmarried men, they took Indians for wives. Their children were mestizos, and they in turn married Indians or half-breeds, thus producing more mestizos of various shades. In the tropical lowlands the Negroes, brought in from Africa, took the place of the Indians in the mixing of races, producing an ever-increasing class of mulattoes. As time passed, the mixed peoples became more numerous than the whites in northern Latin America. By 1800 there were about five million mestizos and three million whites in the Spanish colonies, besides several hundred thousand Negroes and mulattoes.

The lowest class was made up of pure Indians and Negroes. They were laborers on plantation and ranch, in mine and shop; and in this respect they were not much different from the mestizo and mulatto class. But socially they were considered lower in the scale and a good many of the Negroes as well as a



Grace Line

A mestizo family from the Bolivian highlands comes to the valley to trade

few of the mulattoes were slaves. Of course there were also many Indian tribes still living undisturbed in their primitive villages, but they did not yet count as a part of Spanish colonial society. Even without them the total number in the Indian and Negro class was large—as large as the total number in the other classes.

The upper classes looked down on the less fortunate people. Particularly did a Spanish gentleman regard as lowly anyone who had to live by manual labor. Consequently hatred burned the souls of the Indians and the mestizos. Yet there was a tendency for some in the lower classes to try to move up into the class next above. Particularly was this true of mestizos. Envious of the creoles, the light-colored mestizos wanted to be admitted to creole society. They could do so only if they could accumulate enough money to buy a note from the king of Spain saying that they were of Spanish birth (in spite of the fact that they were really part Indian). But a creole, on the other hand, no matter how wealthy, could never claim that he was born in Spain and thus attain the high honors of the peninsular class.

The conquering classes made their living in the new lands in ways dictated by the climate and resources of each region. In the West Indies they at first mined precious minerals. Because rich ores were not abundant and the region was well suited for farming, they soon turned to tropical agriculture. Sugar cane and tobacco became the chief crops. Molasses and tobacco leaves were shipped to the old country and exchanged for provisions, clothing, furniture, and tools.

Although the tropical soil was rich and the rainfall abundant, life in the tropics was not easy in the early years. Disease and Indians each took a heavy toll of life. The climate was hot and the insects were a nuisance. From the Indians the pioneers learned to sleep in hammocks and to hang provisions on shelves. They found that by putting sweets in one corner of a room the bugs would be attracted to that corner, away from the furniture. Presently they managed to build substantial, comfortable homes, much like those of the mother country.

For labor on the plantations the Spaniards first made use of Indians. A planter could usually get an allotment of Indian laborers by applying to the governor. Too often this took the Indian men away from their families and into unbearable working conditions. Suffering and disease rapidly killed off most of the native population. Then the Spaniards began importing Negro slaves, who lived in little huts surrounding the plantation houses and did the work of house and field. With a rich soil, a good market, and cheap labor, the upper classes attained a prosperity that enabled them to live luxuriously.

In the higher altitudes on the mainland conditions were different. There, as has been seen, gold and silver were the first source of wealth. After the Spaniards had seized the precious stores possessed by the Indians, they opened rich mines in central Mexico and Peru and used an improved method of recovering the gold and silver from the ores by means of mercury (quicksilver). The richest mine of all was the mountain of silver discovered at Potosí in southeastern Peru, now Bolivia, in 1545. The tremendous boom that followed created a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants within a few years. By 1600 those mines alone had produced nearly two billion dollars' worth of silver, of which the Spanish emperor took his "royal fifth," or about four hundred million. By old Spanish law any wealth beneath the soil did not belong to the owner of the surface. It was the property of the king, who could grant to anyone he chose a mining contract that guaranteed him his share of the returns, usually a fifth. From the wealth of the mines of the New World came much of the grandeur and power of Spain in the sixteenth century.

Indians did the back-breaking work in the mines. Elsewhere they toiled to make or grow the products of Spanish colonial industry. They made "mission" furniture, wove fine cotton and silk cloth, helped mold bells, gathered cochineal insects for the making of dye, and assisted with the building of ships. In addition they herded cattle and sheep on the large ranches, served as pack animals, labored in the fields of the haciendas, built houses and roads, and constructed the beautiful colonial churches.



De Cou from James Sawders

In village centers, and even in large towns where many natives are illiterate, goods are advertised in the form of pictures

Since the Indians provided the labor supply, two systems were devised for the organization of their labor—or really three, counting the missions. By one system, the mita, the natives were taken by shifts to work in the mines. This was better than the older allotment system, for, according to royal decree (not always obeyed), the men were not permanently removed from their families and between shifts had time to tend their crops. In addition the law required that they be paid for their work, but the pay given was only a pittance.

In the other system, called the encomienda, a Spanish overlord would be assigned a large area of land and whatever Indians were living on it. The natives were “commended” to his care. He was to gather them into villages, Christianize them, and supervise their work. But in good feudal style he also was permitted to exact tribute from them. As a result the encomienda led to practical slavery. Friends of the Indians protested this until finally Charles V sought to outlaw the system. He did not succeed, however, and it continued in use until near the end of the eighteenth century. Even then the ranchers and big farmers found ways to keep the Indians so deeply in debt that they were still practically slaves. The priests charged that the owners of encomiendas were cruelly enslaving the Indians, and the owners made the same charge against the missions. In the numerous missions founded by the religious orders the Indians were gathered into quarters near the church, were Christianized and educated, and were assigned the work of attending to the cattle and crops, and making simple household articles.

Land in the colonies was distributed not only to the holders of the large estates but to small farmers as well. Tracts of about 100 acres were given to peons, and larger grants, about 200 acres, were assigned to knights. The settler was required to improve his land and live on it four years before he was given ownership. This homestead plan, however, was abandoned in 1630, when direct sale of land took its place. There were also special land grants made for the erection of mills and the establishment of frontier forts. The former was called a millsite; the latter a presidio.

The recipient of a large grant, on which towns were to be built, was told exactly how to lay out those towns. There was to be a central plaza, from which the streets were to extend in a rectangular pattern. The sites for the church and other public buildings were to be carefully chosen. A common pasture was to be provided, and strips of land for the residents. The buildings erected on the town lots were to be of uniform size and style for the sake of beauty. These regulations account for the similarity and attractiveness of so many of the old cities below the border.

As the result of the growth of towns, farms, and industry, a considerable trade arose. Because so many pirates and enemies were attacking the Spanish ships at sea, the fleet system was introduced. A fleet of merchant vessels, loaded with goods and protected by a convoy of warships, would sail from Spain each spring to four ports of America—Havana, Vera Cruz, Puerto Bello, and Cartagena. There they unloaded their wares, and there merchants from distant places gathered to buy up the goods. Later the same fleet, laden with gold, silver, and other products, would return to Spain under the guard of the convoying warships.

In America the selling and buying season after the "fleet came in" was known as a fair. During the fair the houses in the fleet ports rented at outrageous prices, and there were crowds, excitement, and much immorality and disease. At the fairs the New-World merchants loaded their purchases on donkeys and set out for distant market places in the cities and Indian villages. The fleet system gave a few merchants and a few ports a monopoly of the trade and placed the remote regions at a great disadvantage. For example, the little band of settlers in Paraguay, near the Atlantic Ocean, were required by law to use the harbor of Puerto Bello, which meant a long journey overland to Peru, a voyage by sea to the isthmus, and a caravan trip across the isthmus to the Atlantic port. This is only one example of the strict Spanish colonial regulations, intended for the benefit of the few at the expense of many.

The government of the Spanish colonies was designed to



Pan American Airways

For centuries the market squares similar to this one in a Peruvian village have been the gathering places for trading and visiting

assist the mother country in draining riches from the land and in keeping the lower classes under control. The motive back of this was mercantilism; that is, a political and economic system by which a nation—in this case Spain—profited greatly by maintaining its own industries through drawing materials from the colonies. To aid in this Spain in 1503 set up a House of Trade at the port of Seville to manage colonial commerce. Later, in 1524, a Council for the Indies was organized to aid in governing the New World. With the approval of the Spanish emperor it made the laws, appointed the officers, and received the reports of the colonies. Whenever an industry in America began to compete with one in Spain, the former would be curtailed. On the other hand, if certain products were needed in Spain, the council would encourage their production in the colonies.

Methods of governing the overseas provinces were developed by trial and error. The Spanish tried in the colonies many of the institutions of Spain and changed them a little to suit American conditions. A man who went to the frontier to conquer new lands was given a charter by which he was appointed an *adelantado*, or an officer "put forward in the king's place." As such he had powers to govern the region, to grant land, to operate the mines, and to command an army. Such powers usually were to be handed down through only three generations of his descendants. Then other royal officers would be appointed to take charge of the region. This was like the English procedure of giving a proprietor or a company a charter to found a settlement and later sending over a governor to take charge and make it a royal colony, as was done in all but a few of the thirteen colonies.

Foremost among the governing officials was the viceroy. The word means "assistant king," and the title was commonly given by European nations to the governors of large colonies. In the Spanish colonies Columbus, the first viceroy, had lost that title, and the men who followed in Cuba were mere governors. The next viceroy, and the first really to exercise the power of that office, was Antonio de Mendoza, who came to Mexico in 1535



The four viceroyalties of Spanish America. The map also shows the captaincies general and the presidencies

to put an end to the confusion there. He did his work well, was paid a handsome salary for it, and in addition was rewarded with the appointment of viceroy of Peru, which was considered superior to the Mexican position because of the great wealth of that region. To assist him in his work in both provinces he made use of the audiencia, a council of local officials who heard

complaints, acted as a judicial body, made tours of inspection, and governed in the absence of the viceroy.

As the American colonies grew, the system of government was expanded until four viceroyalties (New Spain, Peru, New Granada, La Plata) had been created:

The first, New Spain, included Mexico, our Southwest, Florida, the West Indies, and Central America.

The second, Peru, comprised the provinces of Peru and Chile.

The third, New Granada, created much later, was made up of what is now Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador.

The fourth, La Plata, organized in 1776, near the end of the colonial period, included the territory now divided into Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Each viceroyalty had large subdivisions called captaincies general and presidencies, and the man in charge of such a subdivision was in actuality a little viceroy in power and pride. At the seat of government of each viceroy, captain general, and president was an *audiencia*, or high court of justice, with certain administrative duties; and since men were not trusted so far from home in so rich a land, the Spanish ruler also sent over his own inspectors to help collect taxes, to manage Indian affairs, and to keep watch over the other officials.

In the system just described the authority rested with the Spanish ruler, and the subordinates were supposed merely to apply his laws. It made no provision for trial by jury and for elected assemblies of lawmakers. But there was another institution, the *cabildo*. It was a town council composed of local men who were at first appointed by the viceroy. Later the office of councilman was sold at auction to the highest bidder. Thus it could not be said that the *cabildo* introduced truly representative self-government. Yet it did give successful local men a chance to hold office and have a voice in the management of their affairs. Where the king's authority was strong, the *cabildo*

had little power, but in remote regions, like La Plata, the royal arm was weak and the cabildo was truly a governing body. This, then, was the only institution in Spanish America that even remotely resembled the representative assemblies early established in the English colonies.

One of the tasks of the government was to collect taxes, and there were many kinds to be collected. There was the royal share or fifth from the mines, and the royal share from church collections, to be used for religious purposes. Then there were heavy export and import duties, tonnage duties on ships, tributes (taxes collected from each adult male Indian) from *encomiendas*, and fees collected from men the king appointed to lucrative colonial offices. Above all there was the *alcabala*, a sales tax charged at each sale and resale of goods. Altogether the taxes and shipping charges made European wares cost several times their real value, and a small army of collectors was needed to supervise all the business transactions. Though some of them had "sticky fingers," the net return for the royal treasury was enormous. The people who bore the heavy tax load, however, were not so happy about it.

Like the Spanish Empire, the Church had its governing organization. It too was headed by the emperor, who had an advisory council in Spain that really managed the colonial Church. First priests, then bishops and archbishops, were sent over to the New World, until there were seven archbishoprics and about thirty-five dioceses (bishoprics). Under the thirty-five bishops were the many priests who ministered to the Spanish and Indian inhabitants.

Another branch of the Church, represented by the monastic orders, was also very active in the colonies. Dominican friars came to Española with Columbus, and soon the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Jeronimites were also in the field. These zealous messengers of God went with the conquerors, sometimes ahead of them, to convert and civilize the natives. They were so active everywhere in the founding of missions and in the building of colleges that often their zeal and that of the conquerors came into conflict.

To make sure that Spanish America became and remained Catholic, the Church took care that there should be no Protestant revolt there. None but loyal Catholics were allowed to go to the Spanish colonies. Once there, they were not permitted to stray from the fold, for the colonial court of the Inquisition enforced obedience. Whipping, or hard labor, or imprisonment, sometimes even death, was the lot of a colonist who gave voice to disbelief.

While the faithful were laboring to keep Catholicism pure, internal weaknesses were creeping in. First, the Church was growing wealthy, and some people feared that wealth would breed corruption and indifference. In addition the Church held so much land and worked the Indians so diligently that sometimes it made of them enemies who would attack it at the first opportunity. In the second place, the missionaries converted Indians faster than they could re-educate them. Many of the natives went through the motions of the new religion but returned to their old ways as soon as the priest was out of sight.

Nonetheless the Church made an indelible impression in Spanish America. By the end of the colonial period it had built an organization of forty thousand clergymen. It reached the millions of natives and helped pacify them. It founded hospitals, schools, and colleges. It erected thousands of beautiful edifices in all parts of the land. It led in whatever scholarly and practical studies were made. As a result, much of Latin America today is devoutly Catholic.

Already we have seen that colonial education was in the hands of the Catholic Church. The Jesuits and members of monastic orders, often with aid from the provincial treasury, opened elementary schools in the Spanish towns and Indian missions and secondary schools in the principal cities. They taught such subjects as grammar, ancient literature, mathematics, logic, and ethics, and in the Indian schools, industrial arts. The pupils sat on long benches and read their lessons aloud. The teacher would then have pupils read the lesson in unison and would follow this with explanations and drill exercises. In all the school work there was an intense devotion

to religion, for the schools were intended primarily to lead souls to God.

The priests also helped found the first universities in America. The foremost was the one at Mexico City, opened in 1553, or nearly a century before Harvard. By the end of the colonial period it had awarded degrees to more than thirty thousand men, who had listened to the lectures delivered in Latin by learned clergymen. By that time Spanish America had twelve other institutions which were called universities, although only four were widely recognized. Among these was the one in Lima, Peru.

Many of the Spaniards who came to America were scholars and writers. They and their descendants, the creoles, turned out literary works superior in quality and quantity to those of the English colonies. In fact, at one time everyone in Spanish America, it seemed, was writing poetry. They dedicated poems to one another, and they competed in poetry contests. Very few of these amateurs became famous, but many mature writers did achieve recognition at home and abroad. A few outstanding names deserve mention:

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who was a soldier with Cortés, wrote his story of the conquest of Mexico.

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, already mentioned, wrote an account of his life among the Indians.

Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga, who fought the Araucanians in Chile, later wrote an epic poem describing those wars.

Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz, of Mexico, wrote poetry famous for its beauty and originality.

Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo Rocha, head of the university at Lima, wrote sixty books on law, history, mathematics, and other subjects.

Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, a Mexican scholar, wrote poetry and books on philosophy, mathematics, geography, history, language, and primitive races.

Later there were several magazines, devoted to literary subjects, which published the articles of these and many other writers.

Conquerors, mestizos, Indians, and Negroes expressed their feeling in art and music. The talent for art was displayed in

the architecture, sculpture, and paintings of the beautiful colonial churches. Original musical expression appeared in the songs and folk dances of the Indians and Negroes.

Social pleasure was also derived in the villages on market day by the mingling of people from miles around, and from the impressive ceremonies held on the numerous holidays. Most of the latter were religious ceremonies, in which the people in quaint costumes spent many days parading in long processions, kneeling and praying before the church, and shooting off fireworks to express their joy or to frighten the devil away. The day when a new viceroy or high officer came to take up his duties was an especially grand holiday, with more parades, fireworks, religious ceremonies, and poetry contests. At the height of the mining boom in Potosí that city spent the equivalent of eight million dollars to celebrate, not the arrival of a viceroy, but the crowning of Philip II as emperor in far-away Spain.

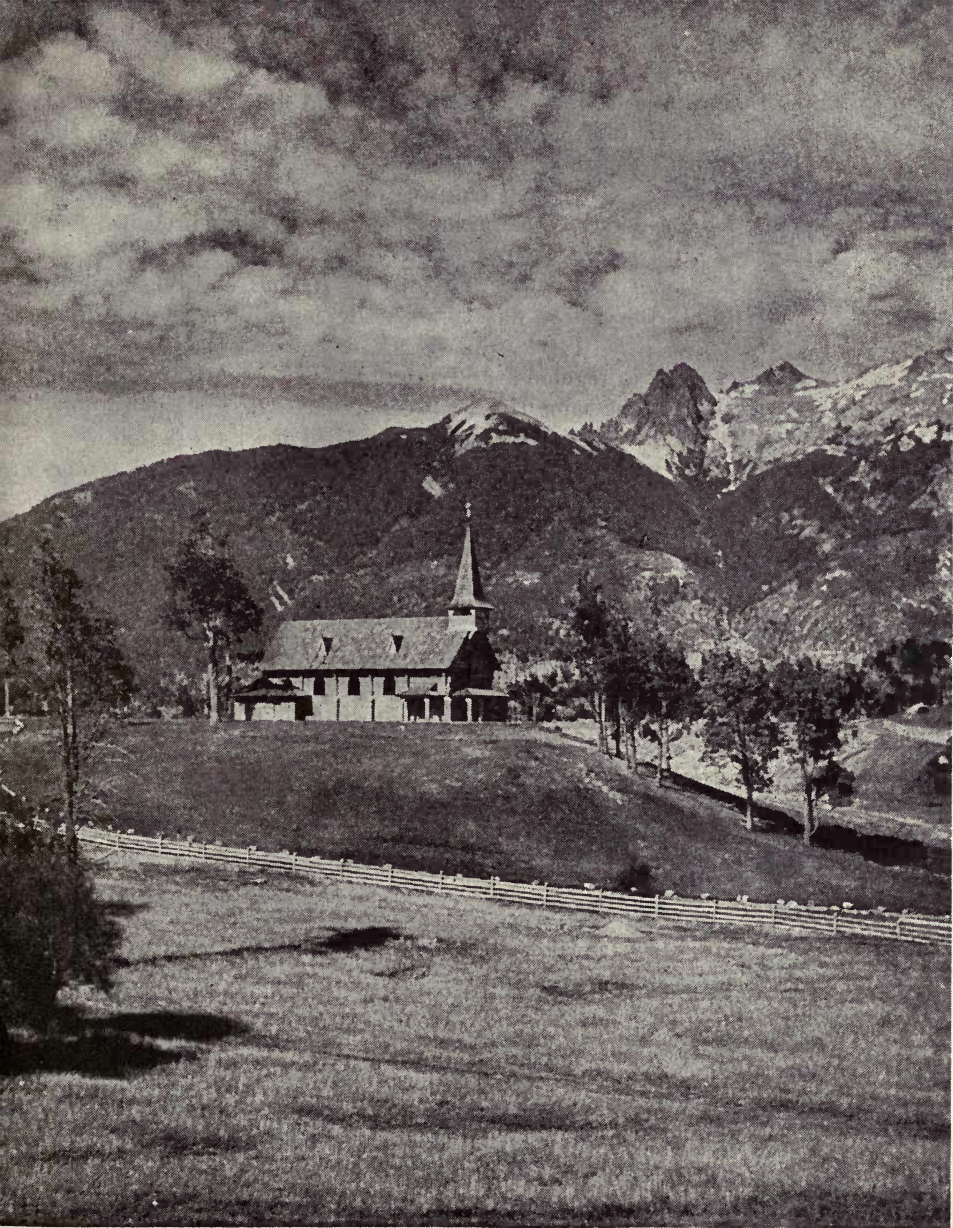
In the social life of the colonies the women of the upper classes had their special place. They were in charge of the home, and they spent most of their time there. They were expected to devote their lives to the happiness of their husbands and family. Seldom did they appear in public, and then always with a veil and a chaperon. On those special occasions they dressed in fine clothing and jewelry, and wore veils or shawls over their faces. Some of them exercised great influence over their husbands, but on the whole the men had much greater freedom.

We have seen that Spanish colonial life had very definite characteristics, many of which were much different from those of our own colonial background.

1. Spanish *settlement* in the New World was *diffuse*, or scattered, and it was strongly masculine. In the English colonies settlement was concentrated, and entire family groups came over.

2. *Society* was made up of definite *classes*, based on *race* and place of birth. In part of English America the Negro race formed a separate social class, but otherwise class was based on the amount of wealth one had or the type of employment engaged in.

3. The *Indian policy* we might call *assimilation*, but, as we know,



Moore-McCormack Lines

Much of the cultural life of the people centers in their church,
whether in the city or in the country

the Indians were so numerous that in the end they absorbed most of the conquerors. North Americans segregated the Indians beyond the frontier line.

4. *Land* was distributed both to *small individual owners* and to *feudal lords*. In the English colonies similar practices prevailed, but the devices used were somewhat different.

5. The *labor supply* was provided by *Indians and Negroes*. In our part of America it was supplied by indentured servants and Negroes.

6. *Trade* was regulated and taxed according to the theories of *mercantilism*. The same theories were followed by the English government, but in practice the colonies escaped strict regulation.

7. *Government* was highly *centralized* under *monarchical authority*. English colonial government was decentralized, and each colony had its own representative assembly.

8. The *Church* was *Catholic* and would not tolerate unbelief. In the thirteen colonies there were many sects which, as time passed, yielded their early intolerance in favor of greater religious freedom. It was not possible for any single sect to impose its creed on the rest.

9. *Education* was *religious* and *church-directed*, and *colleges* were *numerous* and *widely noted*. English colonial education was also largely religious, but it was directed by the many sects and by numerous private teachers. The colleges in the English Colonies were few and little known.

10. *Literature* was *voluminous*, and many of the writers achieved prominence. Our forefathers produced a meager literature in the colonial period.

11. *Social life* was *brilliant* among the upper classes and *primitive* among the lower classes. In the thirteen colonies the same was true of the South, but elsewhere the ways of the middle class prevailed.

THE BORDERLANDS

After the Spanish conquerors had established homes, government, and churches in America, they sought to round out the borders of their settlements as far south and north as possible. They also pressed eastward toward the South American interior. Meanwhile on the eastern border another Hispanic people, the Portuguese, were making firm their hold on Brazil.



To the south in the Plata region only feeble Spanish settlements had been made around Asunción before 1550. There an energetic governor named Juan de Garay pushed reforms and expansion after 1576. Four years later he sent a colonizing expedition down the river to its mouth, where they built Buenos Aires on the site of an abandoned post of that name. By hard labor on the cattle range and in the fields these settlers made good. Other towns were founded, and soon the people of Buenos Aires had hides and agricultural products to sell. But their port was closed; that is, it was not one of the approved fleet ports and could not be used in any kind of foreign trade. The people

clamored for trading privileges until finally, about the time of our independence, their port was opened to Spanish ships but not to others. Immediately commerce boomed and the real prosperity and growth of the region began. About the same time, or in 1776, the Plata province was made a separate vice-royalty, as has been mentioned before.

Northeast of Buenos Aires, where the ground had barely been scratched, extensive development began under Jesuit missionaries who first came there in 1589. They soon built thirty or forty missions in what is now Paraguay and Uruguay, and into them they gathered more than two hundred thousand Indians, mostly Guaraní. For half a century this region was in fact an independent, communal, Jesuit-Indian state, in which the missions maintained their own government, industries, trade, highways, and standing army. Then the Portuguese of Brazil and the Spaniards of La Plata began fighting over this borderland, and the struggle continued on past 1800. During those wars the Spaniards built an outpost at Montevideo in 1723. The Jesuits and the missionaries of other Catholic orders also founded scores of missions among the Indians along the Orinoco and the Amazon and their tributaries.

Far to the north the Spaniards were striving to occupy and hold another borderland. In northern Florida the French had founded a colony in 1564. By all Spanish calculations that was their territory. The Spanish king commissioned Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to oust the French from Florida and build a fort there. He surprised and massacred the invaders, then founded St. Augustine (1565), the first enduring settlement of white men in what is now the United States. Much later, when the English planted a colony in Georgia, war was waged along this border until Florida was lost to England in 1763. However, twenty years later, at the end of our war for independence, Florida was regained by Spain, who sold it to the United States in 1821.

Before 1600 there were no settlements in the barren borderland north of Mexico. By that time the English were active. Their "Sea Dogs" were attacking Spanish ships, and Sir



James Sawders

This street in Cuzco, Peru, is noteworthy because of the walls built centuries ago by the Incas

Francis Drake was raiding coastal towns. When the Spaniards heard that Drake supposedly had found a passageway through the continent somewhere north of Mexico, they decided to act promptly. In order to hold their claim there they sent Juan de Oñate to colonize and govern Nuevo México. He made his headquarters at San Juan on the Río Grande in 1599 and then, trying to find wealth and a favorable place to settle, he explored much of the ground once covered by Coronado. As the seat of government for this northern borderland the next governor, Pedro de Peralta, founded Santa Fe in 1608, about the time the English were building Jamestown in Virginia. Many missions were established in New Mexico, but like Florida this region was later to become a part of the United States.

Meanwhile the missionaries were pushing north in Mexico. The Jesuits were active in the Northwest and in Lower California. In this work Father Eusebio Kino was the pioneer. After 1687 in his forty journeys inland he reported that he

himself brought more than thirty thousand Indians into the Catholic faith. In the course of his travels he discovered and made known that Lower California was a part of the mainland and not an island as previously had been believed.

In northeastern Mexico the Franciscans had the field. They too were devout men, who had faith in God and gave their lives to the work of transmitting that faith to the Indians. They reported many miracles in which God had a hand. One padre said that arrows aimed at him were turned from their course by an invisible force. Another told how an arrow turned about and hit the wicked Indian who had shot it. Another was thankful that once, when he was near starvation, fish jumped out of a stream into his hands. Thus abounding in faith, these men worked northward into Texas. In 1718 they founded San Antonio, and colonists followed into that region. In 1719 to 1720 they fought a minor war with the French in lower Louisiana, in which neither side gained or lost any ground. The Spaniards settled down then to hold this outpost, and it was not until a century later that frontiersmen from the United States took possession of it.

Meanwhile the Jesuits, the most aggressive and zealous of the Catholic societies, had been expelled from Spain and its colonies. Their wealth and fighting spirit had made many enemies, who had persuaded the Spanish ruler that it would be best for the empire to be rid of this order. The blow fell in 1767. The property and work of the Jesuits were taken over by other religious orders. That is how it happened that the Franciscans, now in control in northwestern Mexico, worked north into California where otherwise the Jesuits would have been the pioneers. "Junípero" Serra arrived at San Diego in 1769 and soon started nine missions as the beginning of the later chain of twenty-one that formed connecting links along the so-called royal highway to San Francisco. At the latter point Juan Bautista de Anza built a presidio and founded a town in 1776, the year of our independence. Little did these pioneers in California realize that seventy-three years later their land would be swarming with "forty-niners."

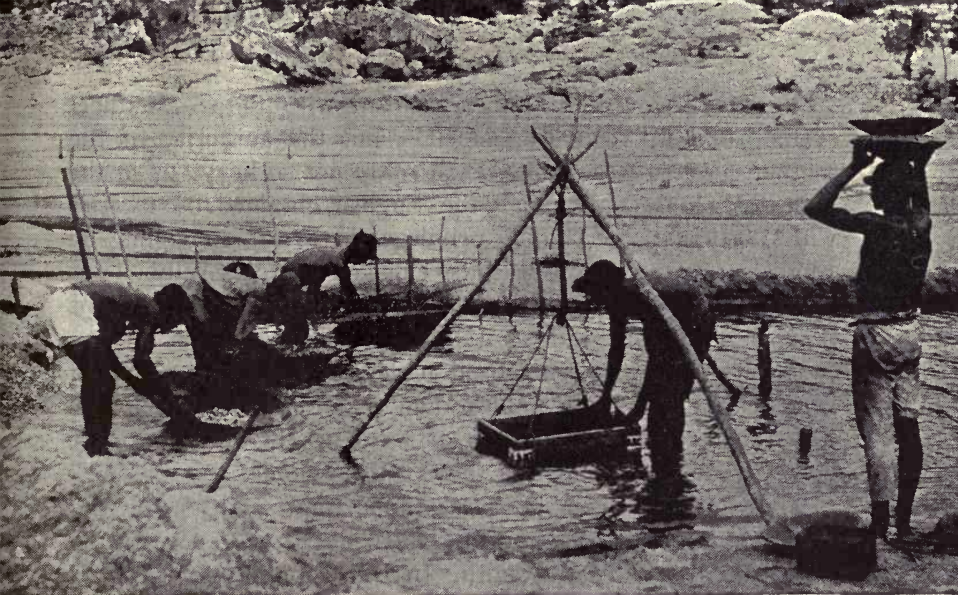


Another borderland in eastern South America, where the Portuguese had founded Brazil, was destined finally to become an important colony. We recall that Cabral's exploration of the coast had strengthened the Portuguese claim to that area, which was originally based on the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI. That demarcation line in South America extended south from the mouth of the Amazon River. East of this line was Portuguese territory, but because of their profitable trade with Asia the Portuguese had been slow to act upon these claims. A few settlers had built homes along the coast without the aid of the

government. In 1531 an organized group had been sent to that region and had founded São Vicente in southern Brazil. With the colonists had come the first governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa. He had divided the coast into thirteen strips, called captaincies, which had been granted to prominent men. The captains had been given powers similar to but even greater than those granted to the holders of *encomiendas* in the Spanish colonies; but few of them had colonized and developed their grants.

In 1549 the Portuguese conquest of Brazil began in real earnest. Another Sousa, Thomé de Sousa, founded São Salvador in the north. The city prospered, and during most of the colonial period it was the seat of government. To it came the first Catholic bishop in 1552. But the Portuguese held Brazil against great odds. First, French invaders threatened their control. The French founded a settlement on the site of the later city of Rio de Janeiro in 1565 and held it until ejected by the Brazilian governor general. Then a few decades later the Dutch came. They seized much of the north coast and made their capital at Recife. Not until 1654 were the Brazilians able to uproot them. Seven years afterward the Dutch signed a treaty giving up all claim to Brazil, but they did manage to maintain a foothold on the north coast, in the present Dutch Guiana.

The Portuguese now held the coast of Brazil. Next they expanded into the interior. In the northeast Jesuit missionaries were at Belém in 1616, and far up the Amazon, at Manaus, by 1674. In the south the Paulistas, hardy half-breed Indians, pushed westward much in the manner of our own forefathers. In quest of glory, gold, land, or Indians to enslave, they moved with their families into the very heart of the continent. In 1692 they discovered gold in a region which they named General Mines. A rough-and-tumble gold rush ensued, like those of our own Far West. Later, in 1728, diamonds were found in the same region, and another rush took place. For more than a century Brazil was the leading diamond-producing country of the world. The expansion of the colony, however, was firmly built on more stable products—cattle, cotton, and sugar cane.



Pan American Airways

Men search for and find diamonds in Brazil today as in the past

Coffee did not become important until beyond the colonial period, although the first trees were planted in 1727.

The institutions of colonial Brazil were similar to those of Spanish America. But general prosperity, different racial backgrounds, and weak control by the mother country caused some differences. Society had the same four classes, but in Brazil the Negroes and mulattoes were much more numerous than the Indians and half-breeds. By the end of the colonial period there were more than two million Negroes and mulattoes and less than a million whites. The civilized Indians numbered only a quarter of a million. Further, class lines were not rigid. There were many opportunities for Negroes to obtain their freedom and, if they acquired wealth, to mingle with the upper-class whites.

The Indian policy was intended to be like that of Spanish America—assimilation and forced labor, usually meaning enslavement. However, the Indians were less numerous and of a different type. There was some assimilation, but in the main the natives were pushed back into the interior. Consequently the Portuguese imported Negroes to serve as laborers.

Trade was governed by mercantilism, with its taxes, its fleet system, and its regulating officials, but the authority of the mother country was weak. Taxes were not so heavy as in the Spanish colonies. Although the English obtained by treaties with Portugal some trading privileges in Brazil, smuggling by English and Dutch ships was also engaged in successfully. Thus in almost open defiance of the royal regulations the Brazilians prospered on illicit trade as well as on their legal trade.

Government was centralized under royal authority, but it was weaker and less complex than that of Spanish America. The town councils, made up of local aristocrats, had more powers than the cabildos of the Spanish colonies.

The Church, of course, was Catholic and would not tolerate disbelief, as in the neighboring lands, but it was more feebly organized and had less wealth. In Baía, for example, traveling priests carried an altar on a pack animal and conducted mass wherever people gathered to meet them in sufficient numbers.

Education, as in the Spanish Indies, was the work of the Church and its religious orders. Many elementary and secondary schools were established, but there were no colleges in colonial times.

In creative arts Brazil was well represented in proportion to its population. Churches and other buildings were artistically designed and decorated, but there was little music besides the rhythmic folk tunes of the Negroes and Indians. Ambitious scholars turned out an endless stream of poetry and several good books on history and other scholarly subjects. Among those who won lasting renown were: Basilia da Gama, author of an epic poem describing a revolt of the Guaraní Indians, and Thomé Antonio Gonzaga, a brilliant lyric poet whose book of noble love poems to Marília is still being reprinted and read with rapture by Brazilians.

Society, as in the Spanish region, was brilliant among upper-class circles in the cities, but at lower levels it was primitive. In Brazil the women were even more secluded than were their Spanish colonial cousins. Placed in convents and retreats by



Expansion of colonial Brazil

their parents, girls remained there until they were fourteen or fifteen, when they were brought out to be married to someone selected by parents or grandparents. Thereafter they continued in seclusion in the homes of their husbands.

With this summary of the development of colonial Brazil the story of the rounding out of the Latin American borderlands comes to an end. There is a familiar saying that the Hispanic people failed in America because they came to hunt gold, while

the English succeeded because they came to make homes and cultivate the land. We surely have seen enough to convince ourselves that that is not true. The Hispanic conquerors made homes, too, and raised many crops and animals and founded a permanent society. Some of them did run wild in pursuit of riches, but the English might have done the same if there had been a Mexico or a Peru in their Appalachian Mountains.

Failure is hardly the right word for the conquest of America from the Rockies to the Río de la Plata, for the colonization there of two hundred thousand Hispanic people, and for the introduction of European civilization among six million natives, all within a century after Columbus. At the end of the eighteenth century the total civilized population—Indian, Negro, mixed, and white—was about twenty million, against only four million in Anglo-America. Even if the Hispanic countries did eventually lose political control over their colonies, their civilization was so firmly planted in America that today it influences profoundly the lives of millions of Americans.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Why did Columbus fail to achieve his major objective?

2. Why was it fortunate that he first came upon the West Indies instead of some other part of America?

3. Why did the Spaniards readily conquer the Indians of Mexico and Peru but subdue those in Chile only slowly?

4. Why did not the Hispanic nations occupy all of North America, as well as much of South America?

5. Why was not the adventure of Orellana followed up?

6. Why was a supply of labor necessary?

7. How did colonial life differ in the tropics and on mountain plateaus?

8. Why has the work of the colonial Church been praised? Why has it been criticized?

9. Why was the economic system of the early Spanish empire a severe drain on the Spanish colonies?

10. Why would La Plata be more likely to lead in revolt against Spain than would some of the other regions?

11. Why had the growth of La Plata been retarded through most of the colonial period?

12. Why was Brazil developed slowly? Why did it later become a prosperous colony?

13. How did Hispanic colonial achievements and institutions compare with those of the English colonies?

TO WRITE . 1. Prepare a list of the conquerors, in order, giving the date and achievements of each.

2. In some of our books go with Balboa, or Cortés, or Pizarro, or Alvarado, or Coronado, for a few days, and write a diary of your experiences.

3. Make a table in which key words are used to compare and contrast the main features of the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French colonies in America.

4. Write an essay on the work of the colonial Church.

5. Write a letter to Charles III pleading the cause of the Jesuits.

6. From data in other histories compile a list of the colonial universities, giving the date and place.

TO TELL . 1. From your reading report to the class on how a conquering expedition was organized and equipped.

2. Investigate and tell about daily life in a mission.

3. If you have visited old Spanish sites in Florida or our Southwest, describe them for the class.

4. Investigate "the fleet system in our times" (convoys), and report to the class.

TO DO . 1. If possible visit a museum in which relics of early Spanish expeditions or of Latin American art are displayed.

2. Make a scrapbook of pictures of colonial churches and art.

3. On an outline map trace the routes of the leading Hispanic explorers and conquerors. Also shade with colors the areas where the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans had their many missions.

4. Make a key for the map on page 205, giving both names in the case of those cities and states which are known by more than one name.

5. On an outline map locate the main colonial towns and mark those in which there was a university. Also the fleet ports.

TO DEFINE · inflation, royal fifth, fleet system, fair, mercantilism, captaincy, diocese, monopoly, assimilation, segregation, Inquisition, Council for the Indies, House of Trade

TO PRONOUNCE · Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

EELLS. *South America's Story*, Chaps. XII-XXX.

KIRKPATRICK. *Latin America*, Chaps. II-V.

PECK. *Pageant*, Sections Two and Three.

STEWART and PETERSON. *Builders of Latin America*, Part One.

WILGUS and D'EÇA. *Outline History*, Chaps. III-IX.

[Books]

BOLTON, H. E. *The Spanish Borderlands*. Vol. XXIII in *Chronicles of America*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

CRAINE, EDITH J. *Conquistador*. Duffield and Green, New York.

PRESCOTT, W. H. *Conquest of Mexico*. Junior Literary Guild, New York.

RICHMAN, I. B. *The Spanish Conquerors; a Chronicle of the Dawn of Empire Overseas*. Vol. II in *Chronicles of America*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

SHORE, MAXINE, and OBLINGER, M. M. *Hero of Darién*. Longmans, New York.

FIFTH UNIT

INDEPENDENCE

The period from 1775 to 1830 was a momentous one in European and American history. The common people of Europe arose in revolt against their kings and

overlords and shed their blood for the cause of democratic government. Colonies in America caught the spirit of the revolution and contended too for the right of self-government, which in their case meant independence from the mother countries.

The English colonies were the first to take up arms. Next the French revolutionists dethroned their king and set up a blood-drenched dictatorship. But the Latin American colonies were not yet ready for revolution. They needed leaders and a favorable situation in Europe. By 1800 leaders were coming to the front. Soon Napoleon, the dictator of France, in the course of his wars of conquest gave the Latin American colonies the opportunity they needed when he marched his armies into Spain and Portugal.

The Spanish colonies were quick to seize the opportunity. The banner of revolt was raised in five localities. However, conditions were not yet sufficiently favorable for immediate success. After a hard struggle the patriots had made few permanent gains, and retired to reorganize their forces.

In 1817, after our war of 1812, and after Napoleon was out of the picture, the colonies renewed the struggle in greater force. This time, although the patriots waged their war against heavy odds, they achieved success. South America was freed from Spanish rule. In Mexico and Brazil, however, the revolutions that occurred in this same period took a peculiar turn. They

were not as far-reaching and deep-seated as in the other colonies. Independence, more easily won, resulted in the founding of empires instead of republics in these two parts of America.

Of the ten nations that arose from the former Latin American colonies, eight were republics. At first, however, they were republican only in name. The leaders of independence wrote constitutions for which they borrowed words and ideas from the United States and democratic countries of Europe. But these ideas they could not yet apply. A period of strife and darkness followed. The ten countries soon broke up into eighteen, to which two more, Cuba and Panama, were added much later. Moreover, the lower classes had not benefited from the winning of independence. They had merely changed masters, and they would have to endure much suffering and fight in many more revolutions before they would have freedom and self-government to go with their national independence.

SLOW BEGINNING

Revolutions do not merely happen. They are caused in part by the groups of people who oppose change and reform of any sort because they might lose wealth, position, and prestige. Revolutions are led and enacted by the men and groups who believe that change and reform are necessary. But before they launch their crusade they must have rousing slogans and a vision of where they are going, or think they are going. In other words, the revolution must have a program. Critical thinkers and writers must provide the program and a battle cry before men of action can take up the crusade.

For the European and American revolutions of the period from 1775 to 1830 European essayists contributed the original program and battle cry. They railed at the abuses of the

world in which they lived. Particularly did they take to task their own kings, and all kings in general. They wanted monarchs to share their powers with representatives of their subjects.

The European radicals wrote about constitutions, fraternity, representation, checks and balances, democracy, and republican government, but they said little about independence for the colonies. Across the seas the thirteen colonies which later organized the United States of America started a war for liberty in 1775, and soon added independence. The war won, they wrote much of the program of the European radicals into their constitution. This was one of the influences that caused the French middle class and peasants to turn against their king and his court. Representatives of the French people met in assembly, adopted their Declaration of the Rights of Man, and then wrote a constitution which they believed would bring the desired reforms to the country. Because the king was conniving against the movement while pretending friendliness, the Parisian mob beheaded him and his friends and seized their property. A committee of dictators then took charge of the revolution, and soon Napoleon became supreme dictator (1799) and finally emperor (1802). Because the kings of neighboring countries thought it would be best for their own health to stamp out French radicalism, Napoleon had a world war on his hands. His ambition and early successes led him on and on until by 1807 he had conquered the countries in Europe from Portugal to Russia. His pretext was that he was bringing them the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the French Revolution.

When western Europe and eastern North America were afire, it was but natural that the flames should spread to Spanish America. There the evils of the colonial system made good kindling. Indians and mestizos, Negroes and mulattoes bore grimly their burden of oppression and enslavement by hated conquerors. Many members of the monastic organizations and rural priests sympathized with the downtrodden and despised the corruption of top officials. Educated men of the growing

creole class were of the opinion that they could fill high positions as well as or better than the haughty Spaniards for whom those positions were reserved. The creoles too were restless under the restrictions on commerce. They wanted to trade with countries other than Spain in order to obtain the industrial products of northern Europe at low prices. This Spain would not allow. All classes in the colonies chafed under the taxes, high prices, and snooping methods of the mercantile system. Finally, the people of the remote frontiers of that day, like La Plata and Chile, felt that they were being exploited by the governors and merchants of the older, more developed colonies from which they were ruled. La Plata and Chile, then, wanted both independence from Spain and freedom from the supervision of neighboring colonies.

Likewise in colonial Brazil there were reasons why many people wanted independence. In the first place, the colonists had defended themselves against both Dutch and French invaders. Their success in this gave them an independent spirit. In addition, many of them disliked the corrupt and oppressive system of government under which they lived, even though little Portugal was unable to enforce some of the colonial restrictions. The officials sent over to govern the colony were sometimes incompetent and often dishonest, and tried to prevent the colonists from learning anything about the radical ideas of the French and North American revolutionists. Nevertheless, young men who were sent to European colleges often brought back to the colony a desire to reform its government. In 1789, the year of the inauguration of George Washington in the new republic to the north, some conspirators in Brazil planned a revolt against Portugal. They were led by Joaquim de Silva Xavier. Since he was a dentist, he is often called "Tiradentes" ("tooth-puller"). However, after some of his comrades betrayed him, he was arrested and beheaded. This broke up the feeble revolutionary movement. On the whole the Portuguese colonists bowed meekly under their yoke and did not dispute the authority of the Portuguese peninsulares who held the government offices and owned many of the great

estates. Thus Portuguese America was not yet ready for revolution and would not be until nearly half a century after the North American colonies revolted against England. Even then, as we shall see, independence came practically as a gift.

At first glance it would seem that Spanish America, where the colonial system of government was much more severe than in the English colonies, was ripe for revolt and would break the chains of oppression quickly. That was not the case. For a number of reasons the Spanish Americans did not rise in revolt on a threatening scale until 1810, or thirty-five years after Lexington and Concord. In the first place, Spain had a host of governing officers and a large standing army in the colonies. Their power would not be broken easily, as some of the early revolutionists learned. In Peru an underground movement in 1740 began spreading propaganda about popular government but was stamped out by the next year. Forty years later Tupac Amarú, a descendant of the Incas, found that an army of fifty thousand Peruvian Indians and mestizos could not cope with the large Spanish army on guard in Peru. The rebellion he led was crushed within a year. At about the same time twenty thousand men rose in revolt against the Spanish viceroy in New Granada, but the trouble ended when the creole leaders were promptly captured and executed.

To break the Spanish strangle hold the creole leaders—the rebellious Spaniards born in America—would need a large army. To get it they would have to recruit, inspire, and train Indians and mestizos. But how could the underdogs be enlisted to make common cause with creoles, when they knew full well that creoles were as much their oppressors as were the peninsulares, or Spaniards born in Europe? Here is where the fighting words of the European revolution were useful. When the creole leaders began to talk about freedom, equality, the rights of man, and self-government, the lower classes lent an ear. They were interested in their freedom and rights in a very direct way, and not until later would they learn that they were thinking about rights that creoles would not let them have. Nevertheless, some of the Negroes were freed from slavery and

the new ideas were helpful in arousing the masses even though it was hard to reach large numbers of Indians and mestizos who could not read. They had to be appealed to directly, in terms they could understand. Very few creoles, however, were able to make these contacts, for their activities were watched and their books inspected.

The agents of the Inquisition censored the printed matter turned out by the presses of the Spanish colonies and also inspected the books brought into the colonies. Anything expressing the ideas of the European or American revolutionists was destroyed, if discovered. Many subversive books were smuggled in, nevertheless, and were secretly read by colonial students and radicals. For example, Antonio Nariño of Bogotá obtained a copy of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. He translated it and in 1794 printed copies on his press for circulation among his friends. For this he spent fourteen years in prison, but the service he had done the revolutionary cause could not be undone. Down in the Plata provinces, where Church and royal authority were weak, and smuggling was rife, many of the forbidden books were circulated. At the University of Chuquisaca (now the University of Sucre in Bolivia) students and teachers read books written by French radicals and cautiously discussed the new ideas of government. From this university a law graduate named Mariano Moreno went to Buenos Aires, where he openly attacked the trade practices of Spain and argued for free speech and a free press. Thus radical ideas spread in spite of the Inquisition, but it took time for them to influence large numbers of colonists.

The officials of the Church opposed revolution for several reasons. It owned too much property to risk a radical upheaval. Its archbishops and bishops were peninsulares whose positions would be lost to creoles in the event of a successful revolution. The government and Church worked hand in hand, and had from the beginning. Besides, the radicals in France were attacking the Catholic Church. Consequently the upper clergy of Latin America fought the spread of these dangerous ideas by means of the Inquisition and used their influence to



James Sawders

This street scene in Fortaleza, in northern Brazil, is typical of village and town centers throughout much of Latin America

preserve loyalty among the masses. This was a powerful force to contend with, but, as we have seen before, there were weaknesses in the armor. Some peasant priests and monastic scholars were revolutionists.

Another reason for the slow tide of revolution was the dearth of good leadership. Against such heavy odds as those just mentioned the right leaders must be skillful, steadfast, intelligent,

and courageous. They must understand their cause and believe in it. Near the turn of the century, but not until then, such men were beginning to appear.

First and foremost among the early leaders was Francisco de Miranda. He was born of wealthy parents in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1750. There he obtained his education and observed the evils of Spanish colonial government. But he had not yet turned against Spain. Instead he purchased a commission as captain in the Spanish army and fought against England, when Spain was an ally of France during our war for independence. Later he quarreled with his superior officers and was discharged from further service.

Miranda determined then, in 1782, to labor the rest of his life for the liberation of his native land. For years he traveled in the best society in Europe and the United States, and for a short time he commanded a French army during the revolution in that country. He won many friends for himself and his cause. Wherever he found a government having trouble with Spain, there he promptly appeared to try to make good use of the opportunity. Because England and the United States had conflicts with Spain, he addressed his pleas to the leaders in those countries. He wanted help—an army and money—for a campaign against Spain in Venezuela. This he later obtained, as we shall see, and by his single-handed crusade he prepared the way for revolution.

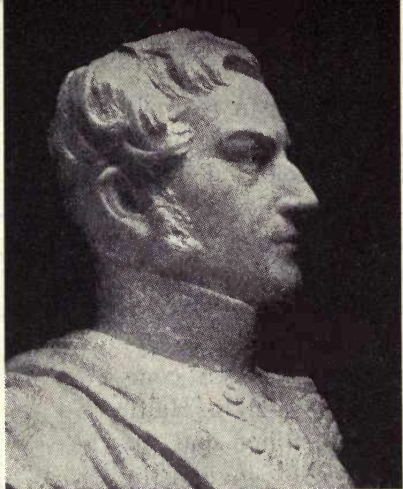
Another early leader was the Negro, Toussaint L'Ouverture, of Haiti, a French colony in western Española. He was brought up a slave on a plantation and became a coachman for his master. He was keenly intelligent, and in some way he learned to read and write. Because of this he became an admired leader among his people. Then suddenly the island was torn from end to end by race warfare set off by the French Revolution. The French Assembly, in its Declaration of the Rights of Man, had spoken in favor of equality for Negroes, and the colony was expected to comply. That would turn Haiti upside down, for there were more than five hundred thousand Negroes and mulattoes to forty thousand whites. The rich planters, who

had representatives in the Assembly in Paris, began to work for self-government in Haiti so that they might run the colony without interference from France. Then war broke out in the colony between the whites on one side and the Negroes and mulattoes on the other. There was so much pent-up hatred that the war was brutal. Thousands were killed, fields were laid waste, and plantation houses were burned.

L'Ouverture, after helping his own master escape to Maryland, fought with the Negroes and soon became their commander. After white resistance had been crushed in Haiti, L'Ouverture conquered the town of Santo Domingo and the Spanish portion of the island. He freed all slaves, invited the planters to return, and organized a military government. Then he called together an assembly to write a constitution. Strange as it seems, seven of the ten men on the committee appointed for that task were white men. Their constitution was accepted temporarily by the government in France, and L'Ouverture was named governor general for life. He labored fearlessly and tirelessly at his task until interrupted by Napoleon.

The French emperor had heard the complaints of the planters and had sent an army to restore slavery in the island. Since L'Ouverture had not had time to organize a strong resistance and some of his assistants had been bought off, he agreed to have a meeting with the French general, Victor Leclerc. In doing so he fell into a trap and was captured and taken to France in 1802. There he soon died in prison. The Negroes, however, aided by yellow fever, defeated Leclerc and preserved their freedom. The work of L'Ouverture had not been in vain. His leadership and that of his successor, Jean Jacques Dessalines, another hero of Haiti, not only made Haiti independent in 1804, but also gave inspiration to the lower classes in neighboring Spanish colonies.

A third man who helped prepare the way for revolution was a creole priest of a village in central Mexico. Usually known and revered as Hidalgo, his name was Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. A shrewd, white-haired, green-eyed man, he was interested in the ideas of the French Revolution. Because he had



James Sawders

This marble bust of José de San Martín, carved by Herbert Adams, stands in the Hall of the Americas, in the Pan American Union building, Washington, D.C.

been taken to task for this by the Inquisition, his spirit rebelled against the tyranny of Spanish rule and he began to organize a revolt of Indians, mestizos, and dissatisfied creoles. This was in 1810, but it was not until years later that his work of preparation reached success under other leaders.

The greatest leader of them all was Simón Bolívar, later known as the Liberator. Like Miranda he was born (1783) in Caracas of wealthy parents. There he received a good education, and at the age of fifteen, after the death of his parents, he went to Europe with a fortune to spend. Like Miranda, again, he served in the Spanish army for a few years, but most of his youth he wasted abroad in wild extravagances. Those years were not all lost, however, for he read widely in the works of the French radicals and watched with interest the campaigns of Napoleon. Finally one day in Rome in 1805 he made a vow. He swore he would devote his life to the liberation of the Spanish colonists. He went back to Venezuela and by 1810 he was in England seeking aid. Since Miranda was at that time the most active champion of the colonies, Bolívar joined with him. Later he would surpass even Miranda in his contribution to independence. But here the point to note is that it was 1810, many years after the revolutions in the thirteen English colonies and in France, before Bolívar was ready to give active leadership to the Hispanic colonial cause.

Another noted leader, José de San Martín, was even later than Bolívar in coming on the scene. In 1778 he was born of Spanish parents in an Indian village among the Jesuit missions on the northern frontier of the Plata viceroyalty. When his father, an army man, was transferred to Spain, José, only eleven years old, joined the Spanish army. He served with dis-

tinction for twenty-two years. Then he heard that revolution was breaking out in South America. His devotion to the place of his birth was stronger than his loyalty to the arrogant Spanish king. He left at once for Buenos Aires and offered his services to the revolutionary party. That was in 1812, or two years after Bolívar had gone to London for aid. Thus we see that the men who gave distinguished service in the wars for Spanish American independence were not prepared to act until well beyond the date of the other revolutions.

An additional reason for slowness of action lay in the colonial reforms promoted by the emperor, Charles III. During his reign, from 1759 to 1788, he made a sincere effort to improve economic and administrative conditions both in the mother country and in the colonies. He opened thirty-four colonial ports to trade with Spain and put an end to the fleet system, or convoying of merchant ships to a few favored ports. He lowered the many duties and sent over officials far above the average of previous ones in honesty and ability. He made Cuba a separate captaincy general and raised the Plata provinces to a viceroyalty. Further, he did away with the old inspectors and sent over new ones, called intendants, who were authorized to protect the Indians, ferret out graft, direct needed improvements, and make regular reports. In this way the rigid, corrupt Spanish system was moving a little toward prosperity and reform in the very years when in the English colonies the loss of long-standing liberties provoked open rebellion. However, the reforms of Charles III did not go far enough and deep enough. They gave few public offices to the creoles. They did not prevent revolt in the Spanish colonies, later on, but they did serve to delay it for a time.

Another cause of delay was the situation in Europe. Revolutions, to succeed, must have a favorable opportunity or outside assistance in some form. Spain had enemies who could give the colonies help, but Spain was still strong. Moreover since 1702 Spain had been allied with France, and France was then powerful. France and Spain had aided the English colonies in their successful war for independence. When the French Revolution

broke out, however, that alliance ended. Spain, seeking the restoration of French royalty to the neighboring throne, became an enemy of radical France and of Napoleon. Consequently the French emperor conquered Portugal in 1807 and then closed in on Spain. After removing the Spanish emperor, Ferdinand, from his throne, Napoleon left his own brother in control.

In his conquest of Spain Napoleon had expected to get popular support from the lower classes, because he claimed to represent their interests. Instead, the Spanish masses, with practically no government or army, arose in revolt against him and his brother. The resistance was directed by local juntas, or committees, formed quickly for that very purpose. The juntas avowed that they were acting in behalf of their dethroned king, but actually they were also in favor of creating a national parliament in which the people would have some voice in their government.

This turn in affairs gave the South American colonists, not foreign aid, but the opportunity they needed. They formed juntas, too, which professed loyalty to Ferdinand. They claimed they were working for the restoration of their king and that in the meantime they would refuse to be ruled by Napoleon's agents and his army. Actually his agents and army were still with few exceptions the same peninsulares who had served the Spanish kings. The people who supported the juntas were merely using the collapse of Spain as an excuse. Many really favored complete reform of the colonial system. Others would go so far as to strike out for independence, but while cautiously feeling their way they had to hide behind some pretext. Now, at last, Spain was in trouble, leaders were forthcoming in Spanish America, and conditions were ripe for the beginning of the long open struggle for independence.

FIRST ROUND LOST

All did not go well with the patriots' cause at first. Although in the five years from 1810 to 1815 independence movements arose in five widely separated and important localities, never-



theless, after a sharp contest, meager success was gained in only one of the five areas.

As early as 1806 Miranda had obtained some private aid in the United States. He had outfitted one ship, the *Leander*, and had sailed to Venezuela to start a revolution. On the way other small craft joined him, but the whole venture was poorly organized. Miranda, a great reader and collector of books, seemed to have more knowledge than wisdom. He landed at Coro, Venezuela, and to his great disappointment the people

failed to rise in arms upon sight of their deliverer. He was forced to back out of a bad situation.

He did not give up but went to London where he printed a newspaper which he smuggled into the colony and distributed among the people in order to arouse them and inform them of his aims. Then the unexpected happened. Napoleon seized Spain and sent word to the colonies to swear allegiance to him. But in 1810 at Caracas, Buenos Aires, Quito, and other cities the colonists formed juntas to govern themselves while continuing loyal to Ferdinand. The junta at Caracas, in the very region of Miranda's interest, took the lead. It declared itself a national body, and sent an invitation to the cabildos, or town councils, in other cities to form juntas, too. Then it canceled the collection of head taxes from Indians, stopped some of the sales taxes, and outlawed the bringing in of any more Negro slaves. In the fall of 1810 word arrived that the members of the junta at Quito had been executed by the Spanish agents there. Immediately the junta at Caracas invited Venezuela representatives to a convention which by July 7, 1811, had written and adopted a declaration of independence that sounds much like our own.

When Miranda heard what was happening he returned to Venezuela, arriving in December, 1810. Thus he was present to use his influence with his countrymen during their writing of the declaration, and later, during their drafting of a constitution for the new Confederation of Venezuela. Then things began to go wrong. A Spanish fleet was approaching, and a Spanish army was taking possession of part of the young republic. In March, 1812, a severe earthquake destroyed houses and killed many thousands of people. The priests, who were still loyal to the king, told the people that this was God's punishment for deserting their rightful ruler. The simple religious faith of the masses proved stronger than their new-born patriotism.

When the band of patriots saw their cause slipping, they made Miranda, the experienced soldier, commander of the army and dictator of the country. But he was a better crusader

than leader. As one officer said, he was "versed in the theory of war," but "not equally versed in the practice," and he had "a haughtiness of disposition and bluntness of manner, which begot him many enemies."¹ In the midst of a bad situation he learned that he could get good terms from the Spanish general. He accepted them and arranged to leave the country quietly, but a group of his own officers seized him and turned him over to the Spanish general. His men were disappointed in his leadership and angered by his surrender, but it is hard to see what they thought they would gain by such an act. Bolívar, a captain under Miranda, was one of the officers who took part in this strange deed, and his biographers have ever since found his part in this incident hard to explain. After four years in prison the heartbroken forerunner of the revolution died, a martyr to his cause.

Bolívar now took up the leadership. He withdrew to a British island off the coast, where he could safely organize the next campaign. The most promising place to launch it was New Granada, to the west of his native Venezuela. At Cartagena a junta had declared the independence of New Granada and was holding out against the Spanish troops. There Bolívar went in 1813 and immediately took command of the patriot army. After driving the Spaniards from the Magdalena Valley he turned east to liberate his own country. It was a cruel struggle, a war to the death on both sides. But Bolívar succeeded and was received with great rejoicing at his home town, Caracas, where in the victory parade his carriage was drawn by a group of beautiful girls.

It was a short-lived triumph. The Spanish army forced Bolívar to withdraw to New Granada. There he was starting over again, with some success, when his opponents received strong re-enforcements from Spain. The European wars had ended in that year, 1815, with the collapse of Napoleon's empire. Spanish soldiers, no longer needed at home, could now be used to subdue the colonies. Bolívar saw that his chances

¹Demourier, quoted in N. A. N. Clevon, *Readings in Hispanic American History*, p. 411. Ginn and Company, Boston.



Ewing Galloway

In hundreds of South American towns one finds an equestrian statue of Simón Bolívar, but the one shown here stands in Central Park, New York City. It was presented to the city by the Venezuelan government

were small and once more withdrew to the West Indies, there to await another opportunity. The first round was over in northern South America.

Far to the south, in Buenos Aires, independence was also attempted in this early period, with better success. This movement broke into the open at the same time as that in the north, but there was no direct connection. We have learned already that the towns in the Plata region came nearer having self-government than those in other parts of the colonies. In the years 1806 to 1807 they had had a chance to try out even further their ability to manage their affairs. At that time, while Napoleon was conquering Portugal and Spain, the British had thought they could easily take Buenos Aires. They wanted to break Spanish restrictions against trading their industrial products for the cattle and hides of La Plata. They did capture Buenos Aires, and held it for a few months. But the residents, acting through their cabildo, had put up a stiff resistance and finally forced the invaders to withdraw.

From this success the Spanish subjects of South America gained experience and confidence just as our forefathers did by fighting in the French and Indian War before the Revolution. Consequently, after Napoleon had conquered Spain, the people of Buenos Aires deserted their weak viceroy and set up a junta. The leaders were Mariano Moreno, a lawyer-editor, and Manuel Belgrano, a creole author, educator, and patriot. Acting in the name of Ferdinand they tried to carry the revolution to the other provinces of La Plata and unite them into one.

Belgrano first led an army against Paraguay. In that region where a junta had also taken over the government, an army commanded by their leader, José Francia, won a decisive victory over Belgrano in 1811. Two years later Paraguay became an independent nation without any further military struggle.

In Uruguay, across the river from Buenos Aires, the independence movement was led by a ranchman, José Artigas. First he turned back an invading force of Portuguese who had come from Brazil to reconquer this borderland for Spain. Then, in

1813, he fell out with the junta at Buenos Aires, because he saw that if he joined their union his people would have less independence than they wanted. He succeeded in fighting off invaders from Buenos Aires only to lose his country in another struggle with the Portuguese of Brazil. Uruguay became a Brazilian province and Artigas fled to Paraguay.

Charcas, another province in the upper valley and beyond, had early formed an independent junta, but now it was under the control of Spanish troops sent over from Peru. In 1813 when Belgrano attempted to conquer Charcas and bring it into the union of the provinces of La Plata, he again suffered a severe defeat. Thus in this region one junta fought another junta, and the colonists fought Spanish and Portuguese troops besides, while each pretended loyalty to the Spanish king. This was the state of affairs when San Martín arrived in 1812. Two years later he replaced Belgrano in command of the army of the United Provinces of La Plata. But after three months he resigned. At that time only Paraguay and the United Provinces, or the area within a few hundred miles of Buenos Aires, were independent. San Martín saw that if independence was to continue in his homeland the Spaniards must be thrown out of their stronghold in Peru. The large army there was a constant threat, even though Peru was far from Buenos Aires. Removal of that threat would be a big undertaking.

When San Martín resigned his command he was not giving up the battle. Instead, he went to Mendoza in the province of Cuyo near the foothills of the Andes, where he began building up his army. He had to manufacture cannon, ammunition, uniforms, and saddles, and he had to enlist and train soldiers. In a region far removed from shops and seaports this was a difficult task, every step of which must be kept secret from the Spaniards. The people of the province contributed their money and metals, and a well-educated Franciscan friar gave skillful assistance. In many respects Cuyo was the Valley Forge of the revolution in the south. The first round in the struggle had gained but little, and spirits were low; yet in the back country a courageous leader was building an army by toil and sacrifice.

Beyond the Andes, in Chile, was a third center of revolutionary activity. There, in the fateful year of 1810, the colonists seized control and set up their junta. They then sent representatives to a convention at Santiago for the purpose of preparing a constitution. Subsequent disagreement among themselves made it possible for the Spaniards to regain control. Bernardo O'Higgins, son of an Irish soldier and statesman, led a revolutionary army to defeat. Three thousand Chileans then fled across the mountains to join San Martín in Cuyo. Such was the outcome of the early revolt in this locality.

The remaining two seats of early rebellion against Spanish authority were in Mexico and Central America, then known as New Spain and Guatemala. In Mexico the viceroy, himself, hopeful of becoming king, called a junta into session in 1808. But loyal Spaniards threw out their viceroy and the struggle began. This gave Hidalgo the challenge he had been hoping for. He started toward the capital with a band of four thousand soldiers. As victory followed victory, his army attracted a horde of Indian and mestizo followers. Now a lawless mob, it was pillaging the countryside. Against Hidalgo the Spaniards rallied and in 1811 defeated him and took him prisoner. Because of his early inspired leadership, he is known as the "Father of Mexican Independence." One of his brilliant followers, José Morelos, tried to carry on. He took Acapulco on the west coast and set up an independent government there, but soon afterward was captured and shot. In Guatemala, also, two groups of disgruntled men conspired to overthrow their governor, but they were found out and put in prison. One of the leaders, José Matías Delgado, is now honored as the national hero of El Salvador, but in his day the first round in the northern uprisings had ended in tragic defeat.

There were several reasons for failure in these early years. Many colonists did not approve of revolution at all. The revolts were so far separated that the leaders were unable to get together and help one another. Their followers were made up of groups with conflicting aims. Some were supporting their dethroned king, Ferdinand; others were pretending such sup-

port while really seeking independence. With them sometimes joined a third group, made up of men who had greater interest in breaking the bonds that held them in subjection than they had in any question involving Ferdinand and constitutions. Against strong imperial forces it was difficult to hold together such a mixed group. Preparation for the task this first time had not been thorough enough, and the leaders had to discover this and learn by experience. The British could have given them assistance, but they had had their hands full in the wars with Napoleon. Then in 1815, when those wars ended, Spain was free to send re-enforcements of veteran soldiers to the colonies. The situation in Europe that had called forth the revolts had now passed, and the first round was over. But many of the colonists had had experience and a taste of freedom. They were determined to continue the struggle at their first opportunity, and many individuals in Europe and in the United States were eager to give them encouragement and assistance.

SECOND ROUND WON

In the seven years from 1817 to 1824 the revolutionists took up their swords again and won independence. Their success this time was due to the experience and genius of the two great leaders, San Martín and Bolívar, and to their able assistants, Bernardo O'Higgins, José Antonio Páez, and Antonio José de Sucre. Success was speeded by a revolution that upset Spain in 1820, and also by help received from England. The British government did not enter into the war, but British veterans (and some men from the United States) came to fight for San Martín and Bolívar. Lord Thomas Cochrane, formerly of the British navy, organized the patriot fleet, and British bankers advanced loans to boost the cause. Britain was interested in Latin American independence because the new nations might buy British industrial wares, something they were not supposed to do under Spanish rule. Then, while San Martín and Bolívar were leading most of South America to freedom, Brazil and most of Middle America also broke off from the mother countries.

We left San Martín on the plains of Cuyo. Behind him only the United Provinces and Paraguay were free; ahead of him in Chile and Peru was the Spanish army. First Chile would have to be conquered, in order that it might be used as a base from which to move up the west coast into Peru. In 1816 the new government of Argentina gave official approval for war against the Spaniards in Peru, and soon O'Higgins and his men added re-enforcements. By midsummer (January) in 1817 San Martín was ready. The cannon, tents, and provisions were loaded on the backs of more than ten thousand horses and mules, and the valiant army turned toward the passes in the Andes. It divided into three sections in crossing the mountains. The men made their own roads up the rocky slopes and lugged their heavy packs through hail and snow. On the Chilean side the three divisions reassembled barely in time to surprise and rout a large Spanish force in the battle of Chacabuco. Other victories followed until Chile was free. The people offered to make San Martín their supreme dictator, but he modestly refused and recommended O'Higgins for the office. San Martín had other work to do.

The captain general of the patriot army next began to prepare for the invasion of Peru by sea. He had no ships, but Lord Thomas Cochrane came to his assistance. This courageous but bad-tempered Scotchman, who had been dismissed from the British service, commanded a fleet of eight warships and sixteen transports that he had assembled for the Chilean patriots. Cochrane, San Martín, and O'Higgins supervised the preparations as carefully as San Martín had done at Cuyo. More than two years passed. Finally, in August, 1820, the army of four thousand boarded the transports and sailed to face an army of twenty-five thousand in Peru. They would not have dared to make this expedition but for the expectation that thousands of Peruvians would join them on their arrival. In preparation they carried uniforms and equipment for fifteen thousand recruits. But when they landed near Lima the Peruvians did not join in anything like the expected numbers. San Martín hesitated. If he attacked Lima he would be sure to turn the masses of the



Grace Line

This Chilean cowboy may have posed for this picture, but his dress and equipment are authentic

people against him. He still hoped to win them over, and to that end he sent agents into the city to appeal to them. The viceroy, beginning to feel unsafe, retired to the mountains and took the Spanish army with him. San Martín then entered Lima and became the supreme protector of the city.

At this point San Martín hesitated again. He did not feel equal to the task of pursuing the Spaniards. There was dissension among his soldiers. Some did not like his deliberation and slowness; others thought that now he would become a harsh dictator. The peerless leader was too modest and quiet; he kept

his officers guessing his thoughts. Perhaps he needed a little of the cockiness of Bolívar. For example, on the evening following the entry into Lima, San Martín refused to be honored as a conqueror. Some of his officers saw him walking alone and unrecognized on the streets. How different from the grand entry of Bolívar into Caracas a few years earlier! Presently San Martín learned that Bolívar, successful in the north, was coming to Guayaquil to carry the war of liberation toward Peru. With the thought in mind that he and Bolívar might join forces, he journeyed north to Guayaquil. Here we shall leave him in order to learn more about those successes Bolívar had won in New Granada.

We left Bolívar in retirement and exile. But his determined character would not allow him to be inactive. In 1817 he was back in the Orinoco Valley of Venezuela, where he organized a strong army. In it were thousands of English, Irish, and German volunteers, known as the foreign legion. They were adventurous men, willing to fight for liberty in any land. Bolívar organized and trained them for the ordeal ahead, while another patriot, Francisco de Paula Santander, of New Granada, recruited an army from among the cowboys of the Llanos. By 1819 they were ready. Bolívar left Venezuela under a constitutional government and he and Santander led their three thousand warriors through the vast, flooded jungle lowlands and over the cold, snow-covered mountain trails toward Bogotá. Only twelve hundred men survived the ordeal, but outside the city the tired, ragged little band outmaneuvered and defeated the Spaniards in the battle of Boyacá. Thus New Granada was liberated, and Santander was left in charge at Bogotá. Then Bolívar sent General Sucre to Guayaquil by sea, while he himself first turned back east to help his aide, General Páez, crush the last Spanish resistance in Venezuela, at Carabobo. In 1821, with another army of three thousand men, Bolívar scaled the rugged Andes between Bogotá and Quito. He and Sucre joined forces in Quito and soon that land, now known as Ecuador, was forever freed of Spanish domination. It was added to New Granada and Venezuela to form the new nation of Great Colombia.

Bolívar realized, as had San Martín, that there could be no rest so long as there was a Spanish army of twenty-five thousand men in Peru. The soldiers of San Martín were in Lima, but there they had stopped. For the good of his own Colombia as well as of Peru, Bolívar must go forward. At this point San Martín appeared for a conference. He, too, wanted to free Peru, but he needed assistance. He would be willing to serve as a subordinate under Bolívar in that final campaign.

The two men met in secret conferences at Guayaquil in July, 1822. No one knows exactly what was said, but everyone knows that it was a momentous occasion. The two commanders were face to face. Bolívar was eloquent, domineering, and ambitious; San Martín, quiet, modest, and patient. Bolívar believed that most of Spanish South America could be united into one great republic under constitutional government. No doubt he hoped to be the first president. San Martín maintained that the new nations could not yet unite and govern themselves. They should invite European princes to rule with a firm hand. As they talked these things over, the future of South America hinged on the outcome. As we see it now, San Martín was probably more nearly right. But after the conference he announced that he was leaving the completion of the work entirely to Bolívar. Perhaps he saw that he could not serve successfully under Bolívar; perhaps he recognized the superior ability of the other man for the task ahead; or perhaps it was ill health and discouragement that prompted his decision. No one knows. At any rate, after making a brief farewell speech to his men in Peru, he retired to Argentina. Later he went to Europe where he lived in quiet exile until his death in 1850.

This left the full responsibility on Bolívar's shoulders. He rose to the challenge. He and his able assistant, Sucre, raised and drilled a new army. After two years in preparation they advanced on Peru and delivered a crushing blow to the Spaniards in a battle high in the Andes, at Ayacucho. At last, in December, 1824, Peru was liberated. A small enemy force still was lodged in Charcas, but General Sucre soon defeated it and set up the independent republic of Bolivia. The war was over.

Today the nations of South America honor San Martín and Bolívar as we do Washington. Of the two Bolívar, the Liberator, was finally the more successful. He was an inspired leader, quick of action and never downed by defeat. Some of his generals complained that in the face of a great crisis they might find Bolívar lying in a hammock, reading a French novel. They felt that they, themselves, really planned the decisive campaigns. Yet these very men could never really grow angry at their leader. If they went to him in indignation, they were overawed by his strong personality and went away in admiration. When the crisis came Bolívar would rise to it, and after it was over he would inspire his men to march into the face of even greater dangers.

Following the decisive victory at Ayacucho, Bolívar addressed a ringing proclamation to his army. In it he said, in part:

Soldiers! You have given liberty to South America, and a quarter of the world is the monument of your glory. . . .

Soldiers! Colombia owes to you the glory with which you again cover her—life, liberty and peace. Peru, La Plata and Chile also are your debtors for immense benefits. The good cause—the cause of the rights of man—has conquered by your arms in her terrible struggle with the oppressor. Contemplate, then, the blessings you have conferred upon humanity by your heroic sacrifices.

Soldiers! Receive the limitless gratitude which I bestow upon you in the name of Peru. I pledge myself that you shall be recompensed as you deserve, before you return to your beautiful country. But no—you never can be worthily rewarded—your services transcend all price.¹

This was the high point in his career. He returned to the presidency of Greater Colombia only to see the country break into three parts. Dissension, wars, and ill health robbed his last years of happiness. In 1830 he died of tuberculosis. But by his earlier achievements Bolívar lives on, one of the truly great men of the world.

¹*Niles Weekly Register*, Vol. XXVIII (April 30, 1825), pp. 130-131.



While South America was gaining its freedom, Mexico, Central America, and Brazil also won theirs. In Mexico the struggle lost by Hidalgo and Morelos was renewed in 1820 under the leadership of Vicente Guerrero. Then a strange thing happened. In a revolution in Spain that same year the radicals seemed to be getting the upper hand. Conservative landowners and clergymen in the colony, afraid of rule by radicals in Spain, suddenly became interested in independence. Their leader, Agustín de Iturbide, marched forth to meet Guerrero, but instead of engaging in battle the two men met in conference. They found that they could agree on three main points: they

both wanted independence, they both favored protection for the Church, and they both sought the establishment of a constitutional government headed by a king, as in England. Their written agreement on these points is called the Plan of Iguala.

The united armies marched on Mexico City, deposed the viceroy, and called a convention to put the plan into effect. Iturbide wanted to be emperor. When he saw that he was running into opposition he arranged a demonstration in the streets. The crowds took up the cry, "Long live Agustín!" This was effective, and the assembly elected him. Thus by a revolution that hardly scratched the surface, Mexico began its independent career as a monarchy under an unworthy, scheming emperor. Trouble certainly would follow.

The captaincy general of Guatemala had been a part of the viceroyalty of New Spain, governed from Mexico City. Consequently Iturbide, now Emperor Agustín I, sent troops to force his authority on Guatemala, or Central America. At first only the little province of El Salvador objected openly. A congress which met there in 1822 asked the United States to take over El Salvador, but the invitation went unheeded. A year later an assembly meeting at Guatemala City declared the entire region independent of Mexico. The new nation, the five United Provinces of Central America, was allowed to go its own way without a struggle.

Brazil, too, easily gained its independence at about the same time, but in a different manner. To this colony Prince John of Portugal had fled when Napoleon conquered the Iberian countries. For the next fourteen years the seat of government of the Portuguese Empire was in America. John VI was fat, silent, and cowardly, but he had good intentions. He managed to improve farming and business, to get better roads, to advance learning, and to increase immigration. Nevertheless his rule became unpopular. The Brazilians did not like his wife, nor his many Portuguese friends, nor his catering to Britain, nor his ideas about absolute monarchy.

When revolution broke out in Portugal in 1820, this was the signal for similar outbursts in parts of Brazil. The next year

the weak-kneed emperor decided that he should return to the homeland, but first he told his son, Pedro, who was popular with the colonists and was staying on as governor of Brazil, that if the unrest became serious it would be wise for Pedro to declare Brazil independent and take the crown. Thus by quick action the colony might at least be kept in the family. That was exactly what happened.

José Bonifacio Andrada e Silva, the oldest of three liberal brothers, was certainly leading Brazil to independence, so Pedro cast his lot with the patriots. He went before the revolutionists near São Paulo, tore the Portuguese colors from his uniform, and shouted "The time is here—independence or death!" The prince was then declared Emperor Pedro I of Brazil, and within a year the patriots, aided on the sea by Lord Thomas Cochrane, easily expelled the Portuguese government and established their independence. In this way Brazil, like Mexico, entered the new period as a monarchy in which no thorough revolution had taken place.

The second round was won. All of Latin America except Cuba and Puerto Rico was free from foreign rule. But new governments have to get along with the big powers of the world. To maintain their independence they must be "recognized" by other nations. For a long time Spain refused to recognize that her former colonies were free. She still hoped to reconquer them. The United States and England, however, befriended the Latin Americans. In 1820 Henry Clay put through our House of Representatives a resolution recommending that we recognize the new nations to the south. Then the British foreign office approached our minister in London with the proposal that the two nations join in issuing a statement of their attitude toward the new republics.

The need for an immediate statement arose from conditions in Europe. After the fall of Napoleon the kings had been restored to the thrones on the continent. They agreed among themselves that if revolution broke out again they would all help to put it down. When Spanish radicals revolted against their king in 1820, the other powers kept their agreement. They



James Sawders

This giant statue of Christ
tops Rio de Janeiro's highest peak, Corcovado. At night it is flood-lighted
and can be seen far over the water

authorized the French king to send an army to the aid of the Spanish king. He did, and the revolution came to an abrupt end. Up to this point England had been a party to the agreement. Now, however, when it appeared that the powers might send armies into America to restore the Spanish colonies to their king, the British backed out. They decided instead to try to head off that move if they could. In this they sought the support of the United States.

When President Monroe received the proposal, he consulted Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, and others, and found them favorable toward joining with England in a sharp protest to the kings on the continent. John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, objected. Always suspicious of the British and everyone else,

he insisted that we should make our own declaration. Monroe yielded and announced his famous doctrine in a message sent to Congress in December, 1823. Monroe's main points were:

1. We should consider any attempt on the part of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

2. The American continents were not open to any further colonization by Europe.

3. We would not interfere with any European colonies then existing in the Americas (British Canada and others).

4. It was our policy not to meddle in the internal affairs of the European powers.

That was plain enough. We would guarantee the independence of the Latin American nations. Bolívar and other patriots thought we were truly a big brother, with whom they could at once join in co-operation for the defense of America and for solution of common problems. No. The Monroe Doctrine was our doctrine, and we would interpret it as we pleased. As we shall see, it was a century later before we changed our minds about this. Even before the doctrine was announced, England by a sharp note to France had stopped any serious thought of French meddling in South America. Thus in both Europe and America the doctrine was then of less importance than it would be later.

The action of England and the United States did, however, assure the hard-earned independence of the new nations. Their revolution had been long and hard-fought. In many ways it had been similar to the war for independence in the thirteen colonies. Both revolts were caused by the efforts of the mother countries to bleed the colonies under the old colonial system. Both received ideas and inspiration from the writings of European radicals. Both produced leaders of sterling quality, who contributed immeasurably to the final victory. Both had their desperate intervals, when failure seemed sure. In the English colonies the hardy backwoodsmen were a bulwark of strength; in Latin America the revolutions originated in part among the

courageous people of the back country. In both instances loyalty to the king was professed at first, but independence was soon declared, partly because it would help attract outside assistance. To each region came outside aid in the form of men, money, and recognition. As the struggle progressed civil war was waged, against Tories in English America and against Loyalists in Spanish America. Finally, at the end of the wars the new nations, north and south, adopted constitutions that were similar in many of their provisions.

On the other hand, there were some major differences, very important in their later effects. In Latin America less aid came from abroad; no big power actually allied itself with the patriots, as France had done during our Revolution. For this reason the struggle there lasted twice as long as ours, with the result that the people, grown accustomed to war, rather expected it to continue. Moreover, their revolutions had several centers in lands separated by mountains and jungles, and never did all their leaders join in a common effort. In the separate centers ten nations arose at first, and more later. Our Revolution was more centralized, under one congress and one general, and later it brought forth one nation of confederated states. In this nation the citizens, experienced in self-government, knew the meaning of their Constitution and took an active, intelligent interest in making it work. In the Latin American countries the ignorant masses, lacking experience in self-government, were unable to understand their new form of government and unable to make it serve their needs effectively. On both continents the revolutions and the new governments failed to go as far as some radicals wanted to go toward overturning the old society and establishing complete democracy for the common man. But in the young Latin American nations this feeling was much more prevalent than in the United States. Under our Constitution our forefathers labored peacefully toward more rights for the common man; in the lands to the south the revolutions left so much "unfinished business" that war and confusion was bound to continue for a long time to come.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Why are revolutions hard to start and to stop?

2. Why was the struggle for independence in Latin America slow in getting under way?

3. Why is Miranda called "the forerunner"?

4. How did Napoleon unwittingly aid the outbreak of the rebellion in the Latin American colonies?

5. Why did the wars for independence in most of Spanish America last longer than ours?

6. Why was the wording of their declarations of independence and their constitutions similar to ours? What would you expect to read in them?

7. How were the revolutions in Haiti, Mexico, and Brazil different from most other revolutions?

8. Why was the first round lost and the second round won?

9. Why were so many new nations formed as a result of the revolutions? Why would you expect the new nations to undergo more revolutions?

TO WRITE . 1. Make a table of two columns in which by key words you compare the causes and results of the Latin American wars for independence with those of our own.

2. Prepare a timetable of the main events in Middle and South America during the wars for independence, and add to it the dates of important events taking place in the United States and Europe in the same period.

3. Read more about San Martín and Bolívar. Imagine that you were with the former in Cuyo, or with the latter at Boyacá, and write a diary of your experiences.

4. Write a letter to San Martín in which you ask him not to retire, and give your reasons.

5. Write a poem in tribute to the patriots of Latin America.

TO TELL . 1. Make an oral comparison of Bolívar and Washington; Lord Cochrane and John Paul Jones; Miranda and Samuel Adams.

2. If you had been a creole patriot, what would you have said to Indians and mestizos in order to interest them in your fight for independence?

3. If you had been in the Congress of the United States in 1822, what would you have said for or against our recognition of the new Latin American nations?

TO DO . 1. Turn to your current events file and select clippings that mention events in the independence movement or that refer to conditions later resulting from the movement. Note the ways in which the events of those years are still important.

2. On an outline map make lines showing the course of the main revolutionary campaigns. Shade the areas in which revolt originated and mark the sites and dates of the major battles.

3. Make a sketch of San Martín's or Bolívar's armies crossing the Andes, or of Bolívar's entry into Caracas, or of Hidalgo's unrestrained mob.

4. Draw a cartoon of Miranda's failure at Coro, or of the meeting at Guayaquil, or of Pedro's "revolution" in Brazil.

TO DEFINE . revolution, radical, royalist, propaganda, junta, Monroe Doctrine

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

CHAPMAN. *Colonial Hispanic America*, Chaps. XII-XVI.

JONES. *Hispanic American History*, Part Four.

KIRKPATRICK. *Latin America*, Chaps. VI-X.

PECK. *Pageant*, Section Four.

SHEPHERD. *Hispanic Nations of the New World*, Chaps. I-IV.

STEWART and PETERSON. *Builders*, Part Two.

WILGUS and d'EÇA. *Outline History*, Part Two.

[Books]

- HARRISON, MARGARET H. *Captain of the Andes*. Richard R. Smith, New York.
- LANSING, MARION. *Liberators and Heroes of Mexico and Central America*. L. C. Page & Company, Boston.
- LANSING, MARION. *Liberators and Heroes of South America*. L. C. Page & Company, Boston.
- WAUGH, ELIZABETH. *Simón Bolívar, A Story of Courage*. Macmillan, New York.
- YBARRA, T. R. *Bolívar, the Passionate Warrior*. Washburn, New York.

SIXTH UNIT

DICTATORS AND WARS

In the century following independence the Latin American nations had a hard struggle. In most countries one war followed another, new constitutions were frequently written, and occasionally a strong leader, or caudillo, would come

to the front and rule with an iron hand for many years. The people failed to make their government work smoothly under constitutions, with the result that dictators seized power by force and kept it by force.

What were the causes of such conditions? In the first place, widespread ignorance and lack of experience in running any kind of government. Second, the race and class lines that the war for independence had failed to sweep away. Third, the great differences between one region and another within some countries, which produced sectional conflict; for example, between northern Mexico and central Mexico, northern Brazil and southern Brazil, Buenos Aires and the rural provinces, and so on. Fourth, the division into two parties, radicals and conservatives, which in their ideas about government were somewhat similar to our states' rights and national parties before the Civil War. Fifth, the extreme pride and sensitiveness of the people having Spanish blood and habits, which made them slow to cooperate and quick to take up arms if "insulted" by the loss of an election. Sixth, the slow economic development, which delayed the growth of an intelligent, prosperous middle class and the building of roads and railways. Seventh, the long wars for independence, which gave ambitious army officers great power and influence. Eighth, disputes regarding the number and the boundaries of the new nations. Last, the influence of



outside forces, like the Church and foreign investors, which stood to lose under disorderly or radical self-government and consequently sometimes supported conservative revolutions and dictators.

In the century of dictators and wars the ten original Latin American nations divided into twenty. Each has a history very complicated in itself, and each is different from the others. It

is difficult indeed to find an orderly way of studying a period in which there was so much division and disorder. Yet in many of the countries a few men stand out. Their lives, achievements, and shortcomings may be taken as fairly typical of the age which brought them forward.

MIDDLE AMERICA

Between our southern border and the northern shores of South America the independence movement produced at first only three nations. They were:

1. Haiti, including also the Spanish part of the island on which it is located
2. Central America, comprising five confederated states
3. Mexico, including all of our present Southwest, Utah, and Nevada

At that time Cuba and Puerto Rico were still under Spanish rule, where they remained most of the century, or until 1898. Florida had also been in Spanish possession from 1783 to 1821, when it was sold to the United States.

In our approach to Middle America in the Age of Dictators, we shall first follow the fortunes, or misfortunes, of the two smaller regions, Haiti and Central America, and then turn to Mexico.

HAITI. After Toussaint L'Ouverture had been captured, Haiti, as we have seen, managed to remain independent of France. What is now the Dominican Republic was also ruled at that time by the Negro army that built the island empire. In the next century Haiti had ten constitutions and two dozen emperors and presidents. As Negroes and mulattoes fought each other for power, there were many little revolutions.

One of the spectacular early rulers was Henri Christophe, who boasted the title King Henri I. This Negro king governed the north part of the island from 1806 to 1820. He drove his



United Fruit Company

No region is so remote that it does not have its central church and market place. The natives have brought their wares and wait for buyers

subjects to labor in the fields, with soldiers as overseers. He himself made frequent tours of the realm in order to see that his orders were obeyed. One result was that the fields produced abundantly again, after the long destructive race warfare. But a large share of the profits went to Christophe, who spent it extravagantly. He built immense stone castles and palaces, where the Negro noblemen of his court waited on him and bowed to his will. Two of the titles he bestowed upon favored gentlemen were the "Count of Lemonade" and the "Count of Marmalade." King Henri decreed many good laws for his people, such as those providing for medical treatment and care of the ill and aged. But these laws were never put into effect, and as the years passed the king grew more and more cruel. Finally, when faced with a revolt, he committed suicide.

After the end of Christophe's rule, in 1820, a mulatto named Jean Pierre Boyer, who was president of the southern part of the island, took over the northern kingdom and the eastern part of the island as well. He too used rural police to drive his subjects to work and to keep himself in power; yet he took a genuine interest in the welfare of his people. But troubles haunted him. A fleet that France sent to threaten him with conquest Boyer bought off with a bribe raised by borrowing money in France. The debt hung over the heads of his people. Their restlessness finally caused the ruler to flee the land in 1843, after twenty-three years in power. Things then went from bad to worse. One revolution followed another. Since the men were constantly away at war, the women and boys had to do most of the work. Much of the land went back to jungle, and education and religion were sadly neglected. This dark age continued on into the next century, when the United States became aroused by the critical conditions and temporarily took charge of the country. This leads us into one of the topics of our next unit.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC . The year after Boyer's departure the Spanish-speaking people in the eastern part of the island, led by Juan Pablo Duarte and others, seceded from

Haiti and formed their own Dominican Republic. In the next seventy years this little country had a worse record than Haiti. The record shows forty-three so-called presidents and thirty-nine revolutions.

In the early period, from 1844 to 1861, two men, Buenaventura Báez and Pedro Santana, fought for control of the Dominican Republic and took turns wresting the chief office from each other. Finally, while we were absorbed in our Civil War, Santana sold out his country to Spain. The red-and-yellow flag of the mother country again floated over the turbulent Santo Domingo, but only from 1861 to 1865. When the North won in the Civil War in the United States, the Spaniards decided they had better get out. Then Báez, back in power, obtained a loan in London at outlandishly high rates. To recover from this mess he tried to get the United States to annex the republic and at the same time pay it a quarter of a million dollars a year for a lease on Samaná Bay. Failure in this led to the downfall of Báez and the near ruin of the land. A savage, extravagant Negro named Ulises Heureux came into power and ruled by murder and borrowed money from 1882 to 1899. Soon afterward, as in Haiti, the United States intervened.

CENTRAL AMERICA . Central America was nearly as disorderly as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The confederation of the five states lasted only fifteen years. In that time it was torn with wars between the conservatives, who favored the Catholic Church and a monarchical government, and the liberals, who wanted no state church and a loose confederation of republican states. In those fifteen years the United States appointed one minister after another to make a treaty with the central government and give it encouragement. Few ministers ever reached Central America, because of transportation difficulties and illness incurred on the way, and only two found the officers of the government. In 1839 one of the ministers, John Stephens, reported that the government had fallen apart and that no one there knew anything about a proposed canal route

in Nicaragua, which he had been asked to investigate. Then he headed for the Maya ruins and wrote a book about them!

At the end of the stormy second term of a liberal president, Francisco Morazán, the confederation had fallen apart, and since 1839 there have been five separate republics: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Each has had a stormy career. Most of the time in the first thirty years the conservatives were on top; during the next thirty years the liberals were in office. Following the administration of an able liberal, Tomás Guardia, 1870 to 1882, Costa Rica settled down for orderly development. Through those years Honduras remained a backward country. It never endured the harsh rule of a long dictatorship, but on the other hand it suffered from invasion and meddling by its stronger neighbors. El Salvador was a little more orderly and prosperous.

Guatemala, formerly the center of government of the province and confederation, had three dictators between 1839 and 1920. The first, Rafael Carrera, was a cruel, conservative despot who allowed no liberty and brought no improvements to the country. All that can be said for him is that he kept order by fear and force. The second was Justo Rufino Barrios, who went to the other extreme. He threw out the clergy, gave aid to the farmers, and built schools, railroads, and telegraph lines. In trying to unite Central America under his rule he was killed in the war that followed. The third was Manuel Estrada Cabrera, another despot who thrived on cruelty and executions, but who, with the aid of foreign loans, built roads, railways, parks, and hospitals.

In Nicaragua there was no outstanding dictator until near the end of the century. Then, from 1893 to 1909, José Santos Zelaya ruled by force. He was a liberal who weakened the power of the Church, broke up a few big estates, and promoted education. Like another liberal, Barrios, he dreamed of a reunion of the five states, and in an effort to accomplish this he waged war against the other states, particularly Guatemala and its dictator, Estrada Cabrera. However, these wars and intervention by the United States led to his downfall.

MEXICO . The political history of Mexico in this period is the story of Santa Anna, Juárez, Maximilian, and Díaz. The empire founded by Iturbide in 1822 cast him off within a year. Then another convention met and wrote a federal constitution much like our own. There were to be two houses of congress, a system of courts, and an elected president. But Mexico originally had no states. Thus to create a confederation, the country was divided into nineteen states, which were then theoretically united in this new government. The constitution also gave government support to the Catholic Church as the state church.

Trouble immediately threatened from several quarters. Northern Mexico was out of harmony with the central part of the country. Primitive Indians of the back regions were on the warpath. There had been no real revolution by which the lower classes had come into their own. The numerous local Masonic lodges, recently organized, were fighting the Catholic Church, and to make matters worse, one branch of the Masons favored a republic while another branch wished to invite a foreign king to rule the country. Moreover, with the consent of the Mexican government, frontiersmen from the United States were settling in Texas, where presently they would become restless under Mexican rule. From the outside, England and the United States were pressing Mexico for the payment of debts, while each of the two countries was also trying to outdo the other in a contest for influence over the troubled republic. Finally Spain, ever watching the confused situation, was preparing an expedition in Cuba for the reconquest of the former New Spain.

Little wonder that the first presidents were in hot water and that only a shrewd, daring man who knew how to appeal to the masses could maintain control! That man was Antonio López de Santa Anna. He was a creole, born of a good family in Jalapa in 1794. Since he did not do well in school, he went to Vera Cruz to work in a store. That was too humdrum for a boy of his spirit, however; so off to the army, the Spanish army, he went. In it he helped put down the earlier revolutions in Mexico, and for his bravery he was honored with promotions

and decorations. But in the later revolution by which independence was won Santa Anna joined the rebels. He led in the capture of Vera Cruz from the Spanish royalists, for which he was rewarded with the appointment as commander in his home town, Jalapa. Soon he was governor of his state, Vera Cruz, which he led in a successful rebellion against the first national president. The man he supported won the office, and Santa Anna had risen to national prominence.

Then in 1829, when Spain was ready to launch its attack on Mexico, it chose Vera Cruz as the promising place to start. The commanding officers tried to win over Santa Anna. He, however, took the measure of his foes and proceeded to outwit them in battle. He was the savior of Mexico! So great was his popularity that in the next election, 1832, he became president. For twenty-three years he was in and out of office, and all this time he remained the leading figure in the nation. He had no profound ideas, no plan for his country. Now liberal, now conservative, he usually managed to play off one group against another so that he always came out on top. When he failed he would go into exile only to return a hero when events played in his favor. In appearance this dynamic man was "a gentlemanly, good-looking, quietly dressed, rather melancholy-looking person . . . with a sallow complexion, fine dark eyes, soft and penetrating, and an interesting expression of face."¹

Santa Anna entered office a liberal, but in two years he turned conservative. The clergy and military men joined with him in writing a new constitution by which they would rule supreme. The government had three branches—congress, courts, and president—but over them was placed a superior committee of five men who were "responsible only to God." In addition none but men of property could hold office, and the president's term was extended to eight years. More serious yet, the states were brought firmly under central control. When Santa Anna tried to put the new plan into effect some of the states attempted to secede. Among them was Texas, one of the border provinces.

¹Frances Inglis Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*, p. 32. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, n.d.

The Texans, when they came as immigrants into Mexico, had promised to be good Catholics and good Mexican citizens. Naturally, though many tried earnestly, most of these Anglo-Americans did not know how to be either. Mexico began to be alarmed at the presence of so many aliens who were un-Mexicanized. Under the new central government Santa Anna determined to crack down on them. He ordered their Negro slaves freed, for slavery was illegal under Mexican law. This seemed strange to the Texans, for they knew that in some way millions of Indians were held in servitude by the Mexicans. Next Santa Anna sent tax-collectors to the border province. High duties were to be charged on goods from the United States in order to encourage the Texans to trade with Mexico. But a desert lay between the Texas frontier and the Mexican trading centers, and besides, the Texans wanted goods from the United States. The frontiersmen now no longer pretended to be good Mexicans. When Santa Anna sent soldiers into the territory the Texas blood began to boil. Secession, a constitution, and war came in rapid order.

It was Santa Anna with eight thousand poorly equipped Mexican soldiers against Sam Houston and a few hundred wily Texas frontiersmen. The Mexican force wiped out the hundred men surrounded in the Alamo, but as the campaign dragged on they failed to trap any more of the "rebels." The great Mexican army dwindled to about a thousand, while Houston's force grew by the addition of volunteers who came from the States. At the right moment, one April day in 1836, Houston turned on the sleeping Mexican army and cut it to pieces. Santa Anna, the great president and commander, was found in tattered clothes hiding in the grass. As a prisoner of war, he signed a treaty recognizing the independence of Texas. This was his first great humiliation.

But Santa Anna came back! Once released he returned to Mexico. There he resisted a French attack on his country and became again the hero of the hour. Now he refused to admit that Texas was independent. Back in the presidency he spent money recklessly and failed to pay the United States the debts



Mrs. De Cou from James Sawders

The Indians of Santa Anna's day were not much different from those of today whom you see along the Pan American Highway

owed as a result of property destroyed in the many Mexican revolutions. This nation offered to buy New Mexico and California, for which the money received would help pay those debts. Mexico refused the offer. Then in 1845, when Texas was annexed by the United States, war broke out in the disputed territory. This accumulation of difficulties forced Santa Anna into exile. However, since the war with the United States did not go well for Mexico, Santa Anna once more regained the presidency. As commander of the army he fell back under the hard blows of General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott, until the invaders actually reached Mexico City. In the peace treaty forced on the crushed Mexican nation in February, 1848, the United States paid fifteen million dollars for the areas

comprising present New Mexico, Utah, and California, and surprised the world by not taking all of Mexico.

Santa Anna went into exile again. His country was living through its darkest hour. It was crushed, bankrupt, and disorderly. Conditions were so bad that a few citizens of the capital city asked General Scott to stay on as dictator and bring order out of chaos. Naturally he had to refuse and follow the instructions of his own government.

In 1853 Santa Anna came back again. As president he sold the United States a little strip of northern desert, known as the Gadsden Purchase, for ten million dollars, and with this money he built up his army and his political machine. He then sent the Mexican congress home and became a vain, cruel dictator. What could the people do? If they could get rid of this man, should they try self-government again, or should they invite a foreign prince to become their ruler? The lower classes favored the former; the upper classes the latter. Something had to be done, and the lower classes acted first. By a revolution they seized control of the government. Santa Anna went into long exile, this time in the West Indies. There he lived until shortly before his death. He died a poor man in 1876, loved by very few of his countrymen.

The leader in the new period was an Indian, Benito Juárez. Born in southern Mexico in 1806, he had obtained an education in church schools and had taught school and practiced law. Since he was a radical reformer, devoted heart and soul to the welfare of his people, he left the country and went to New Orleans when Santa Anna became dictator in 1853. Two years later the revolutionaries called him back. As minister of justice in the new government Juárez issued an edict striking a blow at the privileged classes. In 1858 another liberal, Sebastián Lerdo, sponsored a law that took away the land held by the Church, which was nearly half the improved land in the country. The revolutionists next drafted a new, democratic constitution, under which Juárez became the first president.

The Indians and mestizos seemed at last to be coming into their own, but soon the upper classes revolted and seized the

government. Juárez then set up his capital at Vera Cruz, in the friendly coastal region. Civil war followed—a brutal, bloody civil war, called the War of the Reform. Juárez won many battles and continued as president. It looked bad for the Church and the landowners, until news came that a French army was being sent to collect the debts owed that nation. The United States, suddenly torn with civil war between North and South, could not pay much attention to Mexico. Consequently the conservatives of Mexico invited a foreign prince to rule with the support of the French troops. They would win yet, they thought.

The foreign prince whom Napoleon III of France selected for emperor of Mexico was Ferdinand Maximilian of the ruling family of Austria. He was ambitious to make a name in history, or perhaps we should say that his wife Carlota was ambitious for him. He was kind, and well-meaning, but was not fully aware of the revolution he was walking into, for Napoleon and Mexican agents had told him that the Mexican people had elected him emperor. When he arrived in Mexico City in June, 1864, he received an enthusiastic welcome, for French troops had prepared for his arrival by driving out the Juárez following.

Maximilian looked every bit an emperor—dignified, well-built, and wearing a blond beard. Soon, however, his throne became shaky. Juárez, now in northern Mexico, was leading a rebellion. During our Civil War both France and Maximilian's Mexico, as well as England, were friendly toward the South. In fact, supplies were smuggled through Mexico to the Southern states. The North thus came to regard Maximilian as an enemy and Juárez as a friend. Some Northerners smuggled arms to Juárez, and at the end of the war a number of soldiers from the victorious North joined him as volunteers, while defeated Confederates went to the support of Maximilian. General Grant was even suggesting that he should lead an army into Mexico to remove the foreign ruler. Our secretary of state, however, persuaded Napoleon III, who was already worried by troubles in Europe, to withdraw his army. This left Maximilian without adequate military support, and in May, 1867, he surrendered



Ewing Galloway

In this tiny village square Mexican women sell things which they have made at home — hand-woven fabrics, baskets, pottery

to Juárez, and was tried and executed. Today Mexicans preserve with care and pride the relics and finery remaining from the brief rule of their foreign emperor. Few people of Mexico want a king, but many love the pomp and glory that goes with royalty.

Juárez was still president of Mexico after 1867, but the country was so war-torn that he spent his few remaining years trying to restore peace and order. He died in 1872 without seeing much of his revolutionary program put into effect. He had tried to reconquer Mexico for the Mexicans at an unfavor-

able period, when all the odds were against him. His cause was partly lost for the time being, but as in the case of Hidalgo before him, it lived on in the sad hearts of his people until a new opportunity came. That was later, much later, and in the meantime the country was ruled by Díaz.

Like Juárez, Porfirio Díaz came from southern Mexico, where he was born in 1830. Like Juárez he had been educated in church schools, had studied law, and had fought in the liberal revolution against Santa Anna and against Maximilian. He too was largely Indian in blood and sympathy, though he was part Spanish. But he turned against Juárez and had to leave the country for a while. Then in 1873 he returned to run for office. His platform was "down with dictators," a strange cry coming from a man who was to become Mexico's greatest dictator.

By 1877 Díaz was president. He kept the office until 1911 except for one term, and even then he controlled the government through one of his right-hand men. Really, no one else had a chance to win the office. The soldiers of Díaz conducted the elections and counted the votes. People "voted right," or they stayed away. Everything else Díaz controlled by favors or force. The state governors, the army, the industries—all were under the power of this fierce, rude, powerful dictator.

Díaz forgot about liberalism and the social needs of his people. Instead he devoted all his attention to material progress. First he enlisted bandits as rural police and gave them the task of restoring order and peace, which they did. Then he invited foreign capitalists to invest money in Mexico's railroads, industries, mines, lands, and oil wells. More than a billion dollars were poured into Mexico from the United States alone. New railways and public buildings made the country appear prosperous, and Díaz had money with which to pay the foreign debts of Mexico. This gave the impression to the rest of the world that he was truly the first and only great Latin American president.

Beneath the surface, however, there were slavery, corruption, and hatred. Only the whites and some of the mestizos benefited by the rule of Díaz; the Indians suffered more than ever. Tribe

after tribe saw their communal lands grabbed by the friends of Díaz. The Indians became debt-slaves under their new masters. If they protested, they were ruthlessly slain, or captured and sold into slavery. Their hatred grew more intense, but they realized they could do nothing at that time to ease their lot. But surely there would come a day.

Díaz, growing old, had no one groomed to fill his shoes. In 1908 he made the mistake of suggesting that perhaps Mexico would soon be ready for a democratic election. The iron man was weakening! Revolt began to brew in the north. In 1910 Díaz tried once more to control the election. Opposition spread like wildfire, forcing him to flee to Paris the next year. There he died in 1915, while his country was still torn by revolution. Mexico was entering into the long struggle out of which was to come a new order, as we shall later see.

THE ANDEAN REPUBLICS

Independence gave birth to four nations in the mountains of northern and western South America. They were:

1. Great Colombia, which included the present states of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama

This Indian girl of Ecuador
is full of promise

James Sawders



2. Peru, with approximately its present boundaries

3. Bolivia, which then held a strip of seacoast now in the possession of Chile

4. Chile, extending not quite as far north as at present

Though some have suffered more than others, all these nations have had their troubled years, their dictators and wars.

We have learned already that Bolívar became the first president of Great Colombia. In spite of the labors and pleas of the great Liberator, his countrymen, even his faith-

ful generals, quarreled among themselves, and when Bolívar resigned in 1830 Ecuador and Venezuela seceded from Colombia.

ECUADOR . The smallest of the three countries, Ecuador, began its new period with a conservative government under the leadership of General Juan José Flores, who was president for two terms. Restless young liberals then revolted and for the next century the little republic shifted back and forth between stern, conservative rule and periods of near anarchy. Most presidents fought their way into office, and few lasted long. One exception was Gabriel García Moreno, president and boss from 1860 to 1875. As a young journalist he had grown deeply religious and very bitter toward revolutions. When in power, then, he made an agreement with the Pope by which he dedicated his country to the Church. He believed that our civilization developed from Catholicism and that no other faith should be tolerated. His decrees and those of the Pope he enforced with harsh vigor, while at the same time he built schools, roads, and hospitals, began the construction of a railway, and freed the land from disorder and corruption. Ecuador had religious and material progress without liberty. Lovers of liberty, however, assassinated the dictator and sought at once to undo his reforms. This again plunged the country into confusion, which lasted until almost the turn of the century. Then the liberals, led by Eloy Alfaro, began to have their way, while also preserving peace and order somewhat more successfully.

COLOMBIA . After Ecuador withdrew from Great Colombia, the region to the north took the name of New Granada, which was changed to Colombia in 1863. From 1830 to 1903 that country earned a reputation for extreme instability. In that time it had seventy revolutions and seven constitutions, and in all these changes only a few men stand out. One of them was the dictator, Rafael Núñez, who ran Colombia for fourteen years (1880-1894). Like García Moreno, he entered into an agreement with the Pope by which the Church and the government worked in partnership. In his day there was some

peaceful progress without liberty. But the years that followed brought strife and bankruptcy, as liberals sought to break the grip of Church and conservatives. It was in the midst of this kind of situation that the United States tried to deal with Colombia for the building of a canal across Panama. Panama seceded and made its own canal agreement with us. But more about that and Colombia later.

VENEZUELA . The eastern portion of Great Colombia, which became Venezuela in 1830, had a promising start under the dashing and rather liberal General Páez, formerly one of Bolívar's trusted officers. He made a compromise with the Church whereby Catholicism was supported by the state and yet religious toleration was allowed. Then he undertook the building of roads and the development of foreign trade. This progress seemed promising, but after the last term of Páez, in 1863, it continued for only a short time.

The rivalry of ambitious leaders was the chief source of trouble in Venezuela. One of them, Antonio Guzmán Blanco, first restored order and then made himself dictator in 1870. This vain, shrewd leader dominated the country until 1889, but like Santa Anna of Mexico he held the presidency only part of the time. He cleverly put forward other men who would do his bidding and sing of his glory. He built schools and railroads, reduced the power of the Church, paid part of the foreign debt, and advanced the foreign trade of Venezuela, but he also accumulated a personal fortune at the expense of his country and resorted at times to extreme cruelty. His vanity he satisfied by seeing that all public improvements bore his name and by promoting in the schools poetry contests in which the pupils wrote jingles in his honor. Finally, when he saw that his popularity was waning, he wisely decided to stay in Paris, where he had gone on one of his many visits.

Following the period of Guzmán Blanco, Venezuela had several short-term rulers under whom much of the earlier progress was lost. In those years, near the turn of the century, the country had a boundary dispute with England over British

Guiana and a conflict with both England and Germany over the payment of back debts. These troubles and local disorders brought to the front another strong man, Juan Vicente Gómez, who was dictator from 1909 to 1935. He won foreign confidence immediately by promising to pay Venezuela's debts. Then he took charge of the army and ruled as a tyrant, sometimes with puppets sitting in the president's chair. His cruel dictatorship was unlike any we have yet seen. Other caudillos, or leaders, had been ready at times to sell out to foreign capitalists; Gómez struck hard bargains with them. Others had sought some popular applause; Gómez merely put the fear of himself into everyone. Others had kept their power by playing politics; Gómez maintained his power like a Chicago gang leader. Others had not cared whether the world knew that they were tyrants; Gómez worked so stealthily that the thousands of tourists who came and went saw only "smiling, contented faces," for which they gave great praise to Gómez with hardly an inkling of what was really going on.

However, Gómez had a few friends who loyally pointed out that his rule brought peace and order to the land. Foreign debts were indeed paid, and until the great depression of the 1930's the upper classes at least were prosperous. Much of this was due to the opening of rich oil fields, which soon made the nation third in the world in petroleum production. The story of Venezuela, then, like that of Mexico, revolves around the careers of three men. The third one, Gómez, brings us down to recent times.

PERU. The nation next south of the original Great Colombia was Peru. That country, liberated from Spanish rule between 1822 and 1824 by outside armies, had no initial leader of its own, like Páez in Venezuela. Consequently it floundered around for twenty years, or until Ramón Castilla became president in 1844. He was an able, honest mestizo, who brought peace and prosperity to the land of the Incas. Much of the progress of those years was based on the sale of guano and nitrates to Europe for use as fertilizer and explosives. Castilla, a strong man, freed slaves, built schools and short railways,

and improved the lot of the Indians. After his retirement Peru rapidly built many more railways but unfortunately fell into political disorder and then suffered defeat in a war with Chile (1879-1883). One result of this war was the loss of nitrate beds along the coast. After the war other strong presidents served successive terms. There were few destructive revolutions, but the country was ruled in the main by the military and the conservatives who supported the Church and wealthy landlords. From 1908 to 1914 and from 1919 to 1930, Augusto Leguía was dictator. He made many improvements, including the building of roads, the advancement of gold and silver mining, and the introduction of modern sewage systems and sanitary measures. There were, however, few important social changes and not until recently have the Indians and mestizos threatened to overturn the old order.

BOLIVIA . In 1825 the land south and east of Peru became the Republic of Bolivia under the presidency of General Sucre, who had freed the region from Spanish rule. He was an outsider, however, against whom the natives soon revolted. After his removal in 1828, Andrés Santa Cruz became president. In a few years he had to his credit many improvements at home, but when he tried to unite Bolivia and Peru into one confederation under his rule, Chile joined with Peru to give him a crushing defeat. This forced him into exile in 1839. Then Bolivia

Balsa wood grows near Lake Titicaca and is extensively used in airplane manufacture and in sound-proofing

Grace Line



fell into anarchy. From that time to the end of the century the country had sixty revolutions and ten constitutions. Six presidents fell at the hands of assassins. In the War of the Pacific, 1879 to 1883, Bolivia lost all its seacoast, rich in nitrates, to Chile. It also lost part of the Gran Chaco to Argentina in 1889 and another province east of the mountains to Brazil in 1903. In the midst of wars and bankruptcy there could be little progress, and it was not until after 1900 that tin came to the rescue. The old silver mines of Potosí, thought to be pretty well exhausted, turned out to be rich in tin. By 1925 the value of the annual production from Potosí and other mines had risen to sixteen million dollars, or about one fourth of the world's supply. However, this rich natural resource, as in the case of Venezuelan oil, did not benefit the Indian population greatly.

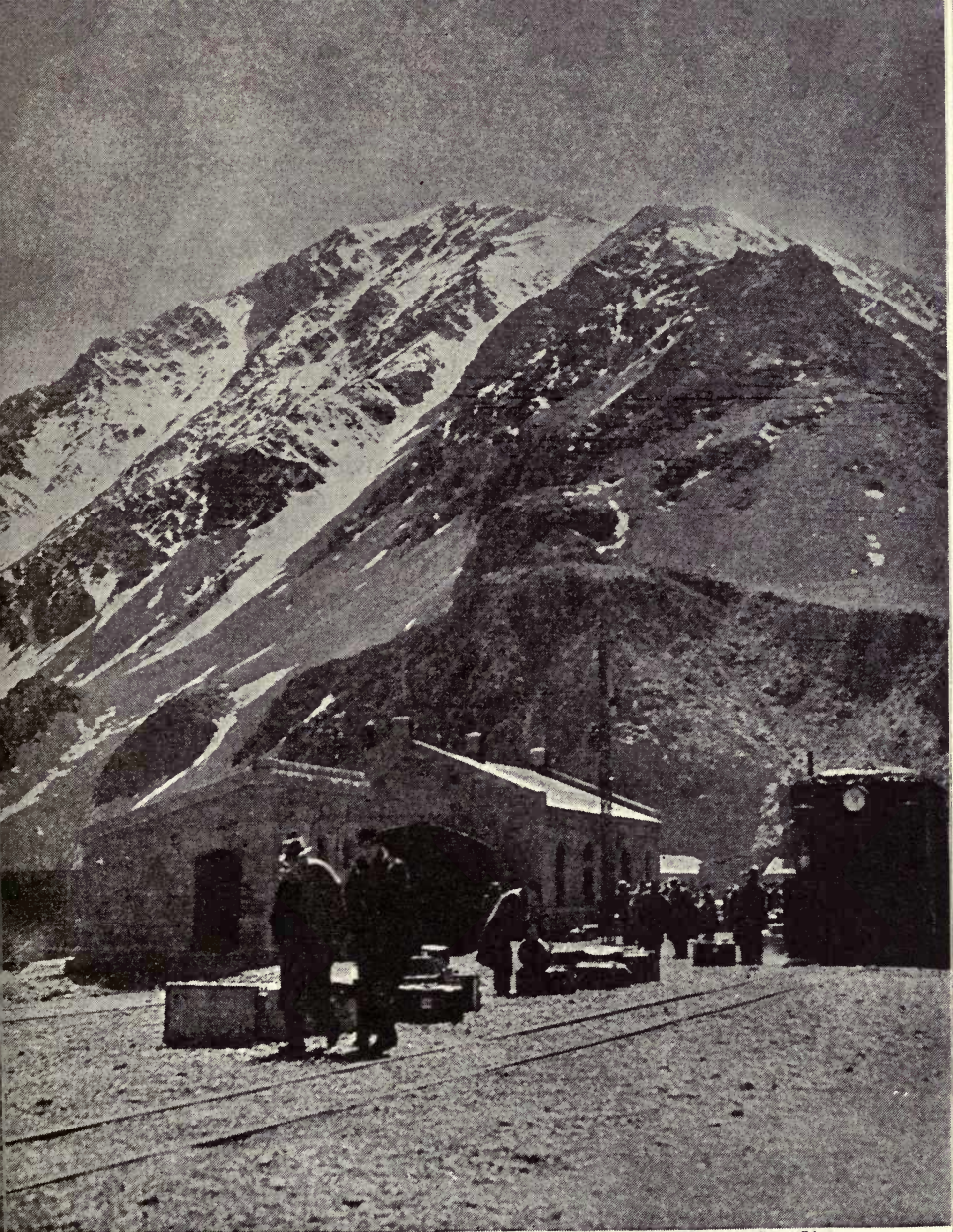
CHILE . South of Peru and Bolivia the long ribbon of land called Chile became independent in 1818 under the dictatorship of the capable O'Higgins. He established order, built irrigation projects, and improved the cities. Then, to prepare the citizens for self-government, he brought in foreign educators to help found schools. All went well until he tried to break up the large estates, curtail the power of the Church, and outlaw bullfighting, cockfighting, and gambling. So many reforms at once were more than the people could stand, especially since O'Higgins was becoming rather despotic. When people both north and south of the capital rose in revolt he was forced to resign.

In the wars that followed, the conservatives came out victorious. In 1833 they drafted a constitution to their liking, one that lasted until 1925. It provided a form of government much like ours, with checks and balances and many personal liberties. But it also made the Catholic Church the state religion and allowed no religious freedom. Under this government the country normally enjoyed peaceful progress. In the early years the strong man behind the scenes was Diego Portales, a conservative businessman. The presidents were mostly civilians, not military chiefs. They served well, as a rule, and submitted to the outcome of the elections. From 1831 to 1861 the

presidents were conservatives; from 1871 to 1891 they were reforming liberals, but not so radical that the country was torn asunder.

In all that time there were only three revolutions that amounted to much, in 1851, 1859, and 1891. This is certainly different from the sad story of the other Andean republics. The reasons are found in the advanced educational system, the growing influence of the women, the leadership of the responsible landowning and professional classes, the lack of serious race conflicts, the able administration of presidents like Joaquín Prieto, Manuel Bulnes, Manuel Montt, and José Balmaceda, until he was overthrown by revolution, and the expansion south and north. Southward the settled area was enlarged at the expense of the Araucanian Indians, who continued to cause trouble until many forts were built in their midst. Into the region thus opened many industrious Germans came to take up farms. In the north the nation developed rich nitrate beds and subsequently came into possession of others in the disputed territory taken from Bolivia and Peru in the War of the Pacific. For a while the income from nitrates was so great that a tax on them was the only one the government needed to levy. The income from the nitrates helped build many schools and railroads.

From 1891 to 1925 Chile experimented with parliamentary government, a system like that in England. The leading party in congress controlled the cabinet offices, which really administered the government. The president was largely a figurehead. In that period the sale of nitrates fell off because the scientists of Europe had learned how to obtain nitrogen from the air. Copper, another source of wealth, also began to fail because of low prices, with the result that the country had to fall back on its mainstay, agriculture. By the time of the First World War the loss of foreign markets and the consequent unrest began to attract attention to the unwholesome conditions in the country. The rich were very rich and the poor were very poor. Farm and mine laborers were beginning to wage a campaign for drastic changes. This will be discussed in a later unit.



Grace Line

An electric train emerges from a mountain tunnel in the Andes

THE EASTERN COUNTRIES

In eastern South America the independence movement created at first only three nations. They were:

1. The United Provinces of Río de la Plata, or Argentina, a confederation of several states in the vicinity of Buenos Aires
2. Paraguay, the little country far inland, which then had a territory larger than at present
3. The Empire of Brazil, which at that time included present Uruguay

ARGENTINA . In the United Provinces of Río de la Plata the rural people from the beginning were suspicious of the leadership of the port city, Buenos Aires. They wanted a loose federation in which they would run their own affairs, while the city people advocated a strong central government dominated by themselves. By 1820 six provinces were in open revolt against Buenos Aires. The United Provinces seemed to be on the verge of breaking up into many little states.

Under the leadership of Bernardino Rivadavia the civil war ended, for the moment, and many reforms were undertaken. But when he tried to force a unitarian or central government on the provinces and at the same time wage a war with Brazil over Uruguay, he had too much on his hands. After his resignation a spectacular cowboy, named Rosas, became the caudillo, or leader, of this troubled region. For nearly twenty-five years he was the government of Argentina.

Juan Manuel Rosas was born a creole in Buenos Aires in 1793, but the city could not hold him. While still a boy he ran away and became a gaucho, or cowboy. Soon he could ride and fight and swing a lasso better than the older men in the cattle country. They all lived a rough life, in which every man had to stand on his own feet. Anyone who could perform more feats of daring and strength than the others became a natural leader. For example, the story is told that when war broke out on the range the gauchos would choose as a commander the man who could drop from an overhead bar onto a wild horse as it ran

under him, and then ride it, without saddle or bridle, back to the starting place. They said that Rosas could do this.

When the cowboy leader was twenty-two he bought a meat-salting ranch. By good management he acquired more and more land until he owned thousands of acres, on which he grazed hundreds of thousands of cattle. He won the respect of all his cowboys by enforcing stern discipline on himself and on everyone else on his ranches. The people of Buenos Aires city, then, naturally turned to Rosas to head the government of the province. With his ability and the support of both city and country, he made a good governor, serving from 1829 to 1833.

The people of the province wanted him to take the office again, but he refused to accept unless they would give him absolute power. This they did. Then, supported by a cowboy army, he brought more and more of the provinces under his thumb. We have seen that in his time the quarrel was mainly between the rural federalists and the wealthy, city unitarians. The former favored a loose union of the provinces; the latter wanted a strong central government. The one party wore red emblems, the other blue. Rosas, hailing from the range, took the side of the Reds, or federalists. No one dared wear blue in his presence. By playing off one Blue leader against another, he weakened their resistance and forced their submission. Other opponents were hunted out by Rosas's secret agents and slain like wild animals. Thus while killing his rivals in the name of federalism, Rosas was really building a central dictatorship.



Philip Gendreau

This Argentine cowboy is dressed up to "go to town." A silver harness adorns his horse



Moore-McCormack Lines

These vendors of flowers do a lively business in Buenos Aires

There were, however, a few things about the rule of Rosas that many people of the United Provinces liked. He was uniting them into a strong nation. He re-established the Catholic Church, which had suffered under Rivadavia. He invited Jesuits to open schools, and he protected the property of many wealthy people. He defied neighboring nations and even Europe. But he lost the Falkland Islands to England, for which he blamed us because we failed to enforce the Monroe Doctrine against England. Sometimes he so angered foreign powers that they blockaded the port of Buenos Aires, but at the same time these conflicts strengthened the national spirit and pride of his own country. A fuss with foreign nations will usually do that.

Under Rosas, however, there was little real progress—no immigration, very little foreign trade, and only a few Jesuit schools. His much-hated methods finally boomeranged. A provincial governor, Justo José Urquiza, with the aid of Uruguay and Brazil, drove the despot from power. Rosas fled to England in 1852, where he lived alone and poor for his remaining twenty-five years.

Under Urquiza a new and lasting constitution was drafted, but the provinces began quarreling again. However, Bartolomé Mitre, who became president in 1862, drew them together and by capable leadership began the orderly building of the Argentine nation. Mitre was a good general, a noted literary man, and a tactful manager. He reformed the government, built railways, opened schools and colleges, brought in immigrants, and in due time willingly turned over his office to a freely elected successor.

His successor, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, was equally capable and progressive. Born in 1811 on the frontier, in the foothills of the Andes, he practically educated himself, and then became a teacher and a leader in his community. As an outspoken progressive, however, he was not safe in Argentina under Rosas, and in 1831 he crossed the mountains to Chile, where he made constructive use of his talent as an educator. He opened a school for girls, an innovation almost unheard of in Latin America in those days. His teaching and writing came to the attention of the authorities, who asked him to be the first president of a new normal school. In 1845 President Montt of Chile sent him abroad to get ideas for a national educational system. After a tour of Europe he visited the great educator of Massachusetts, Horace Mann, from whom he learned much. Thus when he returned he was equipped to lay a good foundation for educational advancement in Chile.

After the fall of Rosas, Sarmiento returned to his native land, where education had made little progress. There he attacked national problems with his usual vigor. He wrote, taught, and founded progressive schools, one of them an experimental farm in his own frontier province. He served as governor of that province and then as minister to the United States. While in this country he was elected successor to President Mitre, even though he was not at home to conduct the campaign. As president from 1868 to 1874 Sarmiento naturally made his greatest contribution in the field of education. He did for his country what he had already done for Chile. The foundation was laid for national progress in education and in the advancement of

women. Though his administration was troubled in other respects, due to the opposition of some critical politicians, when he died in 1888 he was honored as a great national and international leader. For the funeral his body was wrapped in the flags of four countries, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the nations he had most profoundly aided.

After Sarmiento there were many good presidents but few as great as the early builders. The country advanced on a fairly even keel. It benefited from the building of many railroads, from good foreign trade and relations, and from the coming of more than four million immigrants, half of them Italians. However, as more of the common people became educated they began to demand election reforms that would give the right to vote to everyone. The United States had gone peacefully through such a revolution in the 1830's. Now, in 1912, Argentina went quietly through a similar revolution, and four years later the poorer classes elected the man of their choice. Thus when our country was undergoing many reforms under President Wilson, Argentina was hoping for a similar progressive program. But more about this later.

URUGUAY. Uruguay, across the river from Argentina, had once been independent under Artigas, only to fall under the control of Brazil in 1821. However, the patriots would not give up. The revolution they started in 1825 provoked a war between Argentina and Brazil over this borderland. Britain stepped in as mediator, with the result that both the big neighbors withdrew their claims to Uruguay. In 1828 the little country was independent at last. For half a century, however, Uruguay was in chaos. The people were divided into Whites and Reds, or aristocrats and democrats, who fought ceaselessly for control. In the early period a popular leader of the liberal Reds was José Fructuoso Rivera, who was twice elected president. Leaders of the rival factions often turned to Brazil or Argentina for support. As a result foreign soldiers and money and meddling constantly helped make a bad situation worse. Not until near the end of the century did a president serve out

a term without facing a revolution, and though railways were built and schools were opened, not until after 1900 did Uruguay have much chance to make orderly progress. Then it went forward rapidly and undertook many progressive reforms. But that leads us beyond the period noted for its dictators and wars.

PARAGUAY . Paraguay, the small landlocked neighbor of Uruguay, had become independent under the leadership of José Francia as early as 1813. Francia ruled as dictator until 1840. He saw that his country, without a seaport and surrounded by powerful neighbors, was in a tough spot. He immediately tried to make it strong and independent. He seized the property of the Church and destroyed the power of the wealthy creoles. He took under his own control most of the land holdings, making of them a well-managed estate. He improved the farms and the livestock, and built up industries in leather, cloth, and furniture. Since he believed that dependence on foreigners was dangerous, he refused to allow his people to engage in foreign trade. Instead they were forced to raise and make everything they needed. By a peculiar combination of cruelty, honesty, vanity, and industry, he built a strong nation of Indians and mestizos.

After the death of Francia in 1840 a creole rancher named Carlos López became the next dictator. He continued the constructive work of Francia, but he allowed a little more freedom and opened the borders to foreign trade. In his effort to train his son Francisco to be his successor, he went too far. Lavish care and pampering spoiled the boy. When Francisco became dictator in 1862, he began to imagine himself another Napoleon. He built many forts, boosted the army to fifty thousand, ruled his people harshly, and defied his neighbors.

After Uruguay was invaded by Brazil in 1864, Francisco López marched across Argentina to help Uruguay. That little nation did not want his help, however, and by this act Paraguay was plunged into war with all three of the neighboring countries. The army of López was stronger at first than any of the other armies, but after many hard battles it was forced back into Paraguay. Then the three allies invaded Paraguay to put an

end to the López dictatorship. It was a war to the death. The soldiers of the regular army of Paraguay were killed off. Then the older men and boys who were called to the ranks were also killed. The war ended in 1870 with the death of López and the near destruction of his nation. The population had been cut down from a million to about two hundred thousand, of whom only a tenth were males. Moreover, Brazil and Argentina helped themselves to slices of Paraguayan territory.

After that crushing blow the few remaining people established a constitutional government under which for many years they tried in vain to attain peaceful progress. They had many revolutions and many little dictators. Because there were so few men, the women did much of the work and bore many illegitimate children. After fifty years the population was again near a million, of whom 70 per cent were said to be illegitimate. The country has only recently begun to recover from the fateful war of 1864 to 1870.

BRAZIL. This leaves for final study the great Empire of Brazil. With hardly a struggle it had won independence under Pedro I, the son of the king of Portugal. But when a constitutional convention met, the country faced a crisis. Since there had been no internal revolution, the peninsulares, or people born in Portugal, were still the dominating class. The Andrada brothers, who had led the independence movement, now demanded in the convention that the Portuguese soldiers and landowners be ejected from the country. Pedro I showed where his sympathy lay by forcibly disbanding the convention and appointing a committee to write a constitution. The document was a good one, considering that it was made to suit the king. He was to be emperor with a national assembly of two houses to help in the making of laws, and citizens were to have many personal liberties. This constitution was in force for sixty-five years, although Pedro I ruled for only eight. The Brazilians soon began to dislike him because he favored his Portuguese friends and was not very successful in dealing with other countries. In addition, the new government was strongly centralized,

whereas the broad land of Brazil was divided into many natural provinces. Each province, or state, wanted to have a strong state government, with less interference by the emperor. In 1831 the flames of revolution were about to flare up when Pedro I agreed to abdicate in favor of his son.

The boy, Pedro de Alcântara II, was only five when he fell heir to the throne amid great rejoicing on the part of his subjects. Why should they be so pleased? In the first place, their new emperor had been born in Brazil. Since he was a creole, like the radical leaders, he might be expected to govern without favoring the hated Portuguese. In the second place, because of his extreme youth a committee of regents, or advisors, must be appointed to assist him with his royal responsibilities. In this way Brazil would in reality have its own government. The regents who were appointed promoted some reforms, but they also faced many revolutions. It seemed that the big country

The Cocoa Institute in Bafa, Brazil, has real architectural beauty.
At the left is a replica of a cocoa plant.

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was about to fall to pieces. In reality it was going through a trying period in which for the first time the problems of self-government were being faced.

Meanwhile the young Pedro was given the best of private tutors, who taught him many languages and other subjects. He was coached in the proper behavior for all occasions. He grew tall and handsome, looking every inch the great ruler he was to be. In 1840, at the age of fifteen, he assumed his full powers. First he had to establish order and bring the rebellious southern and northern provinces completely into the empire. This took eight years. Then he approached the needs of his country with intelligence and skill. In fact, Dom Pedro won the well-deserved reputation of being one of the world's greatest monarchs, because of his kindness, his tolerance, his liberal views, and his great interest in science, education, and social reform. As emperor, he encouraged immigration, promoted the building of railroads, took an interest in the founding of badly needed schools, and opened the Amazon River to foreign ships. Between 1840 and 1890 Brazil's population grew from six million to fourteen million. The country was naturally rich; it needed only a breathing spell from revolutions and foreign troubles to become great and powerful.

The empire under Pedro II continued until 1889. In spite of the progress already made there were still unsolved problems. In the first place, army men turned against the emperor because after the expensive Paraguayan war he had become a pacifist. In addition, the Catholic clergymen were unhappy because he would not suppress the Masonic lodges, and slaveowners were aroused because there was a movement under way to free their slaves.

Ever since colonial days more and more Negroes had been buying or winning their freedom. In 1850 there had been three million slaves and one million free Negroes. After the slaves of the United States had been freed, sentiment for abolition of slavery grew strong in Brazil. A law passed in 1871 provided that henceforth all children born of slave mothers should be free. Soon two provinces emancipated all their Negroes, and a



Keystone View from James Sawders

This opera house is in Manaus, a city in the Amazon Valley of Brazil

national law freed all slaves over sixty. By 1887 there remained only seven hundred thousand slaves, and finally, the next year, these were set free without any compensation for the owners. The latter blamed the emperor. Discontent in various quarters finally led to a revolution by which Pedro was deposed. It was a peaceful revolution, however, just an agreement in upper-class circles that the time had come for a change. Pedro II, after his long years of service and happiness in Brazil, went to Portugal, where he died in 1891.

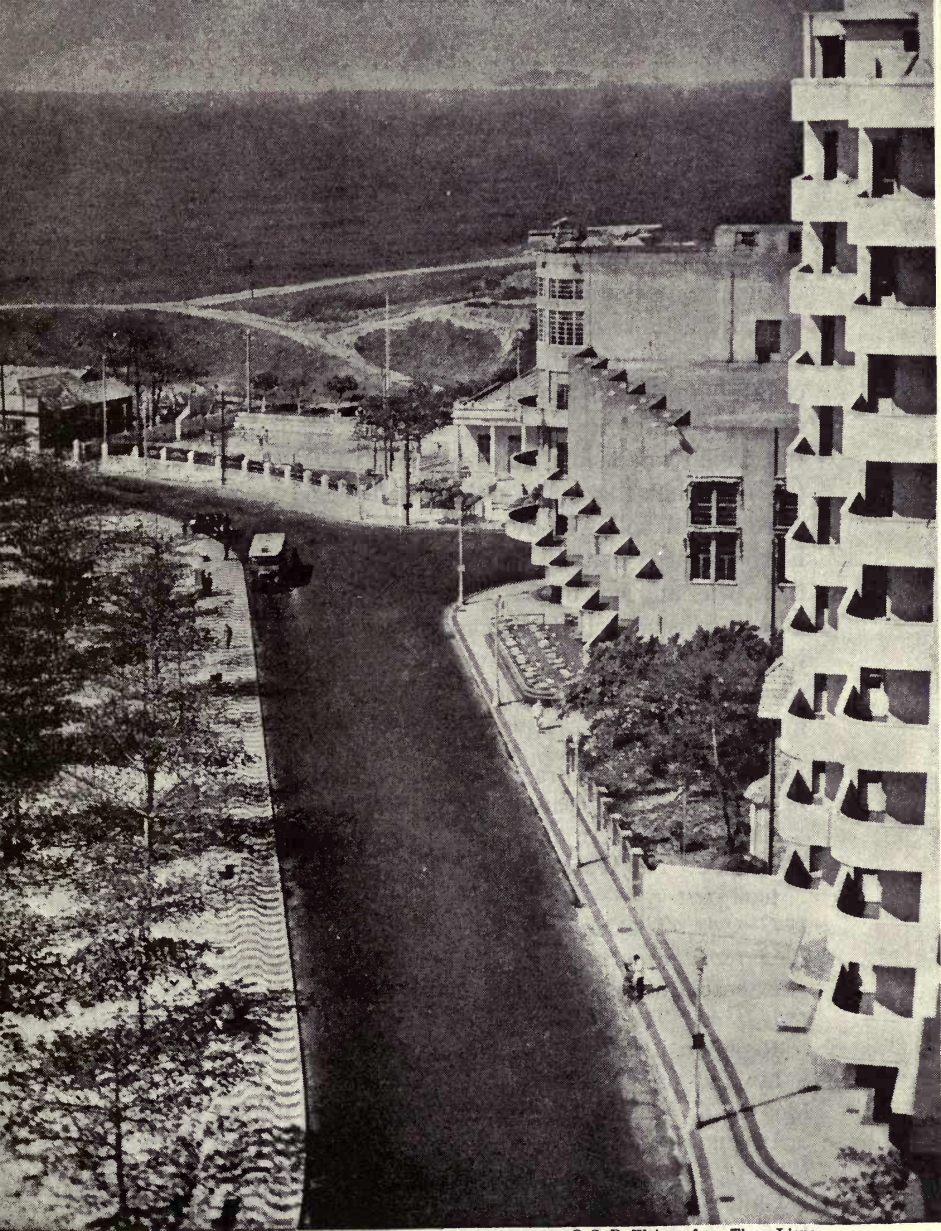
By that time Brazil had prepared a constitution quite similar to ours and was ready to launch the new government. Under the first presidents, who were military men, there was much

trouble, but in the years from 1894 to 1906, under civilian presidents from São Paulo the country again entered an era of order and progress. Railroad-building, cattle-raising, and manufacturing industries contributed their part, but the greatest boom resulted from rubber and coffee production. The rest of the world began to ride on rubber wheels and drink strong coffee, and for a while Brazil had almost a monopoly of both products. However, plantation rubber from the East Indies eventually ruined the market for the wild rubber of Brazil, and overproduction of coffee reduced the profits from that crop. The resulting economic distress and the related unrest has continued down to the modern period.

GAINS AND LOSSES

One hundred years (from 1820 to 1920) times eighteen countries makes nearly two thousand years of history condensed here into a few pages! Obviously the whole story has not been told, and could not be told in many volumes. As we have made the rounds, a country that happened to have a long-ruling, spectacular dictator, or two or three of them, has naturally received more of our attention than some of the others. As we look back over the entire period we can now see that certain general characteristics were common to most of the countries.

One characteristic was the constant division of people into conservative and liberal parties. The conservatives usually stood for a central, military government, order at any price, support for the Catholic Church, supremacy for the landowning upper classes, material improvements, and safety for foreign investments. The liberals, on the other hand, usually contended for a confederate government, personal liberties, restrictions on the political power of the Church, advancement of mestizos, Negroes, and Indians, fuller economic development, greater freedom from the influence of foreign capitalists, and social improvement through greater stress on education. One country after another experienced the cycle of conservative to liberal to conservative programs.



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The Copacabana Beach section of Rio de Janeiro
has strikingly modern apartments

The disorder resulting from an attempt to have liberal or conservative rule usually would result in the emergence of an orderly dictatorship. But against it the people would rise because of the severity of the dictatorship and—if it was conservative—its close ties with the Church, with the upper classes, and sometimes with the foreign investors. Then back over the cycle again. Sometimes the two parties fought back and forth in many little revolutions which came so frequently that neither side ever had a chance to start its program. It was merely a case of ambitious leaders fighting one another without really disturbing their countries very much. But in other instances the cycle turned slowly and swept deeply. We have seen enough to know that there was no general period in which all regions were liberal, followed by another in which all were conservative. Each country usually followed its own peculiar course. This, then, was another of the general characteristics.

A third characteristic was the frequency of wars. Not only were there hundreds of revolutions, minor and major, but also several serious international conflicts. Here is a list of the most important ones:

- 1825–1828.* War of Brazil and Argentina over Uruguay
- 1835–1839.* The defeat of the expansion campaign of Santa Cruz (Bolivia) by Peru and Chile
- 1843–1852.* The Wars of Rosas, in which Uruguay and finally Brazil took part
- 1845–1848.* The Mexican War with the United States
- 1863–1867.* French intervention in the Mexican civil war, a kind of extension of our Civil War into Mexico
- 1864–1865.* The futile effort of Spain to reconquer the Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, and Chile, while our hands were tied by civil war
- 1864–1870.* The destruction of Paraguay by Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay
- 1879–1883.* The War of the Pacific, involving Peru, Bolivia, and Chile
- 1885.* The War of Barrios against neighboring Central American states, in his effort to unite them
- 1907.* Zelaya and another effort to force Central American union

We have noticed a general tendency for the internal revolutions to occur less frequently and with less bloodshed. Now, by studying the list above we see that the international wars have a similar trend. This may be a hopeful sign.

An additional general characteristic was the extreme importance of government to the Latin American people. In our country the private capitalists had the means and opportunity to develop our resources and build industries and most of the transportation lines. That did not have to be done by our government. However, when such improvements were undertaken in the countries to the south, where accumulation of working capital was generally a rare thing, the government itself usually had to play an important part in the enterprise. This called for the borrowing of the necessary money abroad, or else the granting of permission to outsiders to make the improvements for profit to themselves. Governing officials in those nations thus held key positions, subject to great pressure from outside and inside their countries.

One more general characteristic is the prominence of several long-time dictators. Most countries had one; others several. Some of the people became so accustomed to rule by dictators that they began to build up a set of arguments supporting dictatorship as the best kind of government. For example, Leguía of Peru said that a country is made by its leaders, not its laws, which is contrary to our idea of government by law. Furthermore, certain prominent Venezuelans maintained that dictatorships were natural because the people yearned for strong leaders. An appraisal of the real worth of the dictators is difficult. In the main, however, we can set down several gains as well as losses that came from this period.

The dictators helped build disrupted countries into nations; but against this some of them also contributed to the breakup of large areas into several nations. They produced order and some respect for law; but by so doing they cruelly destroyed freedom and instilled deep hatred. Under their rule a few men obtained badly needed experience in government; but millions were taught to obey without thinking. In the era of dictatorship



Keystone View from James Sawders

All Latin peoples like out-of-door life.

This native-style sidewalk café is at Porto Velho, Brazil

the population of Latin America grew rapidly; yet millions of the people continued to live as debt slaves. The dictators promoted material progress, like the building of railroads and the advancement of mining and farming; but they generally hindered social progress, based on free education, free speech, and good wages. They obtained foreign money for the aid of their material progress, and sometimes for themselves; but by so doing they often leased for personal gain the resources of their countries to outside promoters who had more interest in taking out profits than in the welfare of these nations.

In the age of the dictators a few countries made greater advances than others. The outstanding examples were Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. They were large countries and were blessed with a larger quantity and, with the exception of Argentina, a greater variety of resources than their smaller neighbors. Mexico and Peru made their greatest forward

strides under dictators and Brazil under an emperor. But Chile and Argentina made headway under constitutional government. The latter two countries were predominantly white. Brazil had many Negroes and mulattoes, while Mexico and Peru were largely Indian. Thus what happened in a given country must be traced in the end to its own background, its natural resources, and the character of its population.

Whatever else took place in the age of the dictators, it must be said that everywhere there was something about the life and trials of those years that inspired literary production. Many of the earlier writers were romanticists; that is, they copied European styles in writing about romantic incidents far removed from the lives of most of their countrymen. In the latter part of the period, however, a new and original modernist movement swept through Latin America. The modernists wrote with emotion in their own forceful style about things very real in their own experience. They created a truly American literature. Rubén Darío (1867-1916) of stormy Nicaragua was the greatest of the modernists. In the following tribute to a friend may be seen his vigorous use of language:

Your quatrain is a four yoked chariot drawn by wild eagles who love the tempests and the ocean. Heavy brands and stone clubs are the proper weapons for your hands. Your mind has craters and ejects lavas. Your rude strophes, never slaves, travel over the plains of art like a herd of American buffaloes. What sounds from your lyre sounds far, as when Boreas speaks, or the thunder. Son of the new world, let humanity hear the pomp of your lyric hymns which triumphantly salute liberty.¹

Other great modernists were Amado Nervo of Mexico, Rufino Blanco Fombona of Venezuela, José Santos Chocano of Peru, and Enrique Rodó of Uruguay. The more noted of the romanticists were Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera of Mexico, Jorge Isaacs of Colombia, and Andrés Bello of Chile. Two great writers who pictured their own society in an original way, with-

¹Quoted in A. L. Coester, *Literary History of Spanish America*, p. 453. The Macmillan Company, New York.

out being modernists, were the novelist, Alberto Blest Gana, of Chile, and the poet, Gonçalves Dias, of Brazil. In a class by themselves were Bartolomé Mitre, the historian, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the educator, of Argentina, and Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the great scholar of Brazil. This brief list, of course, includes only a few of the many writers who were talented and famous. In general the poets of the period wrote about love, war, martyrdom, suicide, the struggle of the Indians, and the melancholy beauty of nature. In their sadness they reflected the troubles of the age in which they lived.

In that same long century, from 1820 to 1920, the United States was also having its troubles, but they were overshadowed by growth and progress. Under our Constitution this country became a mighty nation, nearly as large as Brazil and containing as many people as all of Latin America. The first part of the period was marked by the movement westward; the second by tremendous material advancement. At first glance there would seem to be little here to compare with Latin America. Yet in that same period we had our wars with other nations, three of them. We too separated into unitarians and federalists, who vied for control and finally resorted to arms. In the hard-fought Civil War the question was settled for all time in favor of the unitarians. Like many Latin American countries we achieved material advancement, in which foreign capital played no small part. At the same time, though we had schools and many social advantages, we allowed social problems to accumulate beneath the surface. Later they were to lead us into a progressive movement and a New Deal, just as they led our southern neighbors. In this country, likewise, the century saw the flowering of a vigorous, original literature born in the American setting.

But, you say, we had no dictators. No, not in the national government. Yet in our cities and states we had our caudillos, our machine bosses who ruled through force and corruption. They were able to do this because our millions of city dwellers, including immigrants from many countries, knew little about the government of big cities. As the people fumbled about and

THE AGE OF DICTATORS AND WARS

For each country the date of independence is followed by the names and dates of the leaders mentioned in this unit

Middle America

HAITI, 1804: Christophe (1807-1820); Boyer (1820-1844); protectorate of United States (1914-1933)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 1844: Santana and Báez (1844-1878); Heureux (1882-1889); protectorate of United States (1905-1924)

CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFEDERATION, 1823: Morazán (1829-1839)

Nicaragua: Walker (1855-1860); Zelaya (1893-1909); protectorate of United States (1916-1933)

Honduras: (weak)

Guatemala: Carrera (1841-1865); Barrios (1873-1885); Cabrera (1898-1920)

El Salvador: (weak)

Costa Rica: Mora (1849-1859); Guardia (1870-1882)

MEXICO, 1821: Iturbide (1821-1823); Santa Anna (1828-1855); Juárez (1855-1872); Díaz (1877-1911)

CUBA, 1898: United States administration (1898-1902); Estrada Palma (1902-1906)

Andean Republics

GREATER COLOMBIA, 1822: Bolívar (1822-1830)

Venezuela: Páez (1830-1863); Guzmán Blanco (1870-1889); Gómez (1909-1935)

New Granada: became *Colombia* (1863); Núñez (1880-1894)

Panama: separated from Colombia (1903)

Ecuador: Flores (1830-1845); García Moreno (1860-1875); Alfaro (1895-1911)

PERU, 1824: Castilla (1845-1862); Leguía (1908-1914, 1919-1930)

BOLIVIA, 1825: Sucre (1825-1828); Santa Cruz (1828-1839); then anarchy

CHILE, 1818: O'Higgins (1818-1823); Prieto (1831-1841); Bulnes (1841-1851); Montt (1851-1861); Pérez (1861-1871); Balmaceda (1886-1891); parliamentary government (1891-1925)

Eastern Countries

ARGENTINA, 1816: Rivadavia (1820-1824); Rosas (1829-1852); Mitre (1862-1868); Sarmiento (1868-1874); Irigoyen (1916-1930)

PARAGUAY, 1811: Francia (1813-1841); Carlos López (1841-1862); Francisco López (1862-1870)

URUGUAY, 1828: Rivera (1830-1843); confusion; then Batlle (1903-1915)

EMPIRE OF BRAZIL, 1822: Pedro I (1822-1831); Pedro II (1840-1889); became a republic (1890)

lost interest, the bosses organized their gangs and seized control. In the main our city problem was similar to that of the inexperienced citizens in the young nations to the south. In both instances the bosses filled in with a crude government while the people, with different languages and customs, were learning how to readjust to new conditions. We may conclude, then, that the age of dictators and wars in Latin America was an in-between period that had to be endured while the foundations were being laid for a general awakening and an effort to solve problems by more democratic procedure.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Why did some of the young nations in Latin America soon break into parts?

2. How did conditions favor the rise of dictatorships?

3. How did the dictators get and keep their power?

4. Why may we conclude that in many instances they were a necessary evil?

5. Why did Chile and Argentina make greater early progress toward self-government than the other countries?

6. Why did an empire endure only a short time in Mexico but a long time in Brazil?

7. Why have Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Central America, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay had more than their share of political strife? Were the reasons the same or different in each case?

8. In what ways did liberals and conservatives usually disagree?

9. Suggest some additional ways in which the United States and Latin America may be compared and contrasted in the century from 1820 to 1920.

TO WRITE . 1. A comparison of Santa Anna and Rosas, or of Díaz and Gómez, or of Sarmiento and Benjamin Franklin.

2. A comparison of democratic advancement in Chile and in Argentina.

3. A comparison of the emancipation of slaves in Brazil and in the United States.

4. A poem dedicated to Pedro II, or Juárez, or Sarmiento.

TO TELL . 1. Investigate conditions among sharecroppers in this country and debt slaves in Latin America. Report to the class.

2. Read about and describe life among the gauchos of Argentina in the early days.

3. Look up and relate to the class some of the stories of the settlement of Texas, of the Texas revolution, or of the Mexican War.

4. Investigate boss rule in one of our cities and tell the class how it compares with caudillo rule in Latin America.

5. Report on the difference between dictatorship in Latin America and modern dictatorship in Europe.

TO DO . 1. Conduct a mock trial of one of the caudillos.

2. From your current-events file select those clippings that have a background in this period. Consider how the age of dictators has helped shape modern events.

3. In your Pan American Club each member may be prepared to pose as an authority on one nation or man or product. Have a quiz program, pretending that you are on the air.

4. Draw a cartoon of Maximilian coming to Mexico, or of Santa Anna in the midst of troubles, or of Rosas gaining power, or of Central America falling apart.

TO DEFINE . dictator, caudillo, federal, unitary, conservative, liberal, tyrant, anarchy, romanticist, modernist.

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

JONES. *Hispanic American History*, Chaps. XV-XXII.

SHEPHERD. *Hispanic Nations*, Chaps. V, VI, VII, IX.

STEWART and PETERSON. *Builders*, Part Three and Chaps. XVII, XIX.

WILGUS and D'EÇA. *Outline History*, Chaps. XIV-XXI.

[Books]

HANIGHEN, F. C. *Santa Anna, Napoleon of the West*. Coward-McCann, Inc., New York.

HARDING, BERTITA. *Phantom Crown*. Blue Ribbon Books, Inc., New York.

HARING, C. H. *South American Progress*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

HUDSON, W. H. *Far Away and Long Ago*. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

STEPHENSON, N. W. *Texas and the Mexican War; a Chronicle of the Winning of the Southwest*. Vol. XXIV, *Chronicles of America*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

SEVENTH UNIT

THE "YANKEE PERIL"

For a long time the United States was not very consistent in its attitude toward Latin America. At one moment we would display great interest in these neighboring nations; at

another time we would turn our backs on them. We were so absorbed in our own expansion and in our own problems that many of us were not sure what part, if any, we should play in the other American lands.

As our expansion reached the Pacific, we became interested in proposals to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Then, in the latter half of the century, our power and wealth began to spill over into the Caribbean region. We helped the Cubans win independence. We built a canal connecting the two oceans, after Panama had seceded from Colombia with our approval. We interpreted the Monroe Doctrine to mean that we should be the policeman of the Caribbean. We would keep order, foster democratic advancement, and make safe the loans and other property of foreign investors. With support from our government, our loans and business projects in northern Latin America grew rapidly. We were building a Caribbean empire.

In the years of our southward penetration we were also the leader in promoting the Pan American Union and its conferences. The movement progressed slowly but steadily in the face of many obstacles. Our neighbors were involved in many disputes among themselves. We knew little about them, and they knew little about us. They were suspicious of our leader-

ship and afraid of our imperialism. Nonetheless the achievements of the early conferences laid a solid foundation.

As the years passed, many disputes were settled, conferences on a great variety of subjects promoted closer acquaintance with one another, and American leaders began to consider ways of insuring lasting peace in these two continents and elsewhere. To that end some of these nations followed us into the First World War and went far ahead of us in participation in the League of Nations. Yet close fellowship of all Americans was still retarded by our imperialism and by continued misunderstanding.

CARIBBEAN EMPIRE

Not long ago many people of Latin America commonly spoke of the United States as the "Yankee Peril." They thought of us as a selfish Northern giant, bent on exploiting them without consideration for their welfare and culture. Foremost among the causes of this attitude was our policy in the Caribbean region after 1895.

Prior to that date the Latin Americans had not known what to think of us. Often we had shown a disappointing lack of interest in the other Americas. Our paths seldom crossed. When they did, the problem of the moment was usually disposed of without reference to any long-range policy on our part. Many Latin Americans thought at first that our Monroe Doctrine meant America for Americans, including all the other republics. They at once asked us to defend them, and also invited the American governments to send representatives to a Pan American conference at Panama City in 1826. The calling of this conference was mainly Bolívar's idea. Our Congress debated so long as to whether we should participate that our delegate arrived after the meeting had adjourned. The conference, poorly attended, had accomplished almost nothing.

There are other examples of our early indifference and ignorance. Our ministers to the other American republics were often politicians, who knew little about the nation to which they were assigned. After England seized the Falkland Islands in 1833, to control the naval station established there earlier, Argentina asked us to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, but we paid no attention. For a long time our response was the same when Venezuela complained to us that the British were claiming part of that country for British Guiana. Even more surprising, although the best policy in the long run, was our refusal to annex El Salvador and the Dominican Republic when those countries asked us to take them in. Even after we were beginning to want a canal across the isthmus, we moved so slowly that a company in France began work in Panama before our own country was ready to move.

In other instances this nation and some of its men displayed great interest in the countries to the south. Henry Clay, for one, was the first champion of what amounted to a "Good Neighbor" policy. He led the campaign for us to send delegates to Bolívar's Panama conference. In Clay's "American System" he sought by compromises to draw together our North and South and West into a strong union, and at the same time to bind with it in close co-operation the other American republics.

Quite early we recognized that the fate of Cuba was important to us because of its nearness to our shores. Because we did not want it to fall into the hands of a strong European country, we insisted at first that Cuba remain under Spain, a weak power. This helped delay Cuban independence. Soon our quarrel over slavery overshadowed all our other interests. Then, beginning about 1845, leaders in the South sought the annexation of Cuba. They wished to divide it into two or three new slave states. In the South a Venezuelan revolutionist, Narciso López, thrice organized expeditions of volunteers to help the Cubans free themselves from Spanish rule. The third time, in 1851, he and his filibusters were captured in Cuba and put to death. With the outbreak of the Civil War here the movement to annex Cuba lost support.

In those years we also saw the need for improved transportation by railway or canal across the isthmus. Though the growth of California called for better connections between the west coast and the east, rivalry between the South and the North had delayed the building of the Union Pacific Railroad across the continent. A railway had been built across one isthmus route in Panama, and now we began to think of a canal; but we realized that we had signed away all right to build one ourselves. In 1850 we had entered into an agreement with England that any canal should be a joint project of the two nations, controlled by neither. That agreement, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, stood in our way, and England refused to set it aside because such a canal would be valuable in the defense of the far-flung British Empire.

Now occurred one of those interesting incidents that made a good story but did our relations with Latin America no good. By river, lake, and a connecting highway built by Cornelius Vanderbilt heavy traffic was crossing Nicaragua to California. Suddenly, in 1855, William Walker of the United States appeared in Nicaragua with a band of filibusters. He forced himself on Nicaragua as dictator. Perhaps he hoped to add some slave territory for the South, or to form a united Central America; but it is certain that he intended to make what profit he could by controlling the good highway route across Nicaragua. War followed between the two outsiders, Walker, the filibuster, and Vanderbilt, the financier. Some Nicaraguans and Costa Ricans fought on one side or the other, but most of them were perplexed bystanders. Walker, the loser, was executed by a firing squad in 1860.

The interest of South and North in the war of Juárez and Maximilian in Mexico, during our Civil War, has been mentioned. After our Civil War was over, attention turned to Cuba. In 1868 revolutionists there began a war for independence from Spain in which they naturally looked to the United States for help. But at that very time we were suing England for damages resulting from aid given our South when it was fighting for independence. Our hands were tied. After ten years of severe warfare in Cuba, Spain re-established control there.



James Sawders

Here you are looking up the Prado toward the Capitol in Havana, Cuba

It was Cuba, however, that finally drew us for the first time into Latin American affairs in a big way. The patriots there struck for freedom again in 1895. This time the Cuban poet José Martí had prepared the way. By his poetry he had aroused American sympathy for his suffering people, and by his work as an exile in New York he had skillfully planned the revolution with the help of other Cubans. Again aid was sought from the United States, and again this country hesitated, but not for long.

Several forces drew us into the Cuban conflict. One was the cruelty of the concentration camps into which the Spaniards

herded captured revolutionists. Another was the bad condition of sanitation and health on the island, too dangerously close to the United States. Another was the reforming impulse of people in this country, who at that time were awakening to a desire to advance the welfare of mankind here and everywhere. Another was the wish to make profitable investments in Cuba. Another, of course, was the mysterious sinking of the *Maine*. Still another was the rapid advancement we had made in the building of a fleet, the third strongest in the world. Some of us were eager to see it tested in action. But most important of all was the inflammatory war talk of New York newspapers. The publishers were discovering the sales value of big headlines. On days when there was no sensational story they would create one. For example, William Randolph Hearst, a newspaper publisher, had a reporter locate a beautiful señorita suffering in a Spanish dungeon, and then organized an expedition to rescue her. Once the war fever was raised, the newspapers never allowed it to subside.

In 1898 we declared war on Spain, and in 1898 it was over. Admiral Dewey took Manila in the Spanish Philippines. Admirals Winfield Scott Schley and William S. Sampson blockaded Cuba and defeated the Spanish fleet at Santiago. General W. R. Shafter and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt mopped up the Spanish forces on shore. In that summer we spent a billion dollars to free an island in which we had only fifty million dollars invested. Hardly could it be said that we were fighting to pull chestnuts out of the fire for our capitalists, unless we were looking to the future. And according to a resolution adopted by Congress at the outset, we were pledged not to keep Cuba. Thus many Latin Americans rejoiced that we had helped the last Spanish American colony win its freedom from Spain. However, some could not help wondering what this demonstration of our power might later mean for them. Were our fingers crossed when we promised not to keep Cuba? Would we find excuses to hold it, and then conquer more Spanish American territory? Time would tell.

We did occupy Cuba from 1898 to 1902. In that time we

rid the land of fever, built schools, hospitals, and highways, collected the duties, managed the funds honestly, and trained a local police force. The Cubans wrote their own constitution, under which a capable, honest man, Tomás Estrada Palma, leader in the revolution against Spain, was elected first president. When their constitution came before their convention and our Congress for approval, we added an amendment and made them accept it. This Platt Amendment, as it was called, long remained a thorn in Cuba's side. It specified that we might intervene at any time if we believed this was necessary to preserve order in Cuba, and that Cuba could not borrow money abroad without our consent, nor permit any other nation to obtain control over the island. By the terms of this amendment we also obtained Guantánamo Bay for a naval base.

Since the Cubans had their uprisings, like other young Latin American republics, we found it necessary several times to intervene, once in 1906 when a revolution broke out at the end of the term of Estrada Palma. After three years, we withdrew again; but in 1917 during the First World War we sent marines once more to preserve order. Cuba, our "sugar colony," was free in name, but in fact it was our protectorate.

In the meantime the twenty-first American republic, Panama, had been born, and we had built the Panama Canal. We have seen already that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 had tied down our ambition to build the canal ourselves. After half a century, in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, we persuaded England to give us a free hand. Theodore Roosevelt, then President, at once pushed the project energetically. There were two prospective routes for the canal, in Nicaragua and in Panama, a province of Colombia, and each had its advantages. Each country sent agents to Washington to boost its route. Suddenly the bankrupt French company also came to life and asked a hundred million dollars for its right of way and the rusting machinery left in Panama. We persuaded the company to take forty million dollars, and then offered Colombia ten million for the right to build across its northern province of Panama. Colombia rejected the offer. One reason was that



The Panama Canal Zone showing the route of the canal and railroad

Colombians did not like the extent to which we would control Panama; and another reason was that in one more year the contract of the French company would expire, and Colombia might then get that extra forty million.

President Roosevelt was furious at the obstinacy and "greed" of Colombia and began considering the route in Nicaragua. Now it happened that there was an undercurrent movement for independence in Panama, inspired long ago by the leadership of a patriot and martyr, Tomás Herrera. If Panama should strike for its freedom now, it might get the canal. The agents of the French company had to work fast. They helped organize a revolution and made certain that our government would put no

obstacles in their way and would protect them against Colombia. On November 2, 1903, a United States battleship arrived at Colón. The next day, when the revolt took place, the battleship prevented Colombian troops from landing to fight the rebels. Then other war vessels arrived. Immediately Panama proclaimed itself independent, and only a few days later President Roosevelt recognized the new republic. With the new nation we promptly made a treaty like that rejected the year before by Colombia. The French company got its money, and its agent became the first minister of Panama at Washington. The only obstacles then remaining in our way were fever, jungles, and a range of hills. It took several years to overcome them, but the canal was ready for use just in time to demonstrate its value during the First World War.

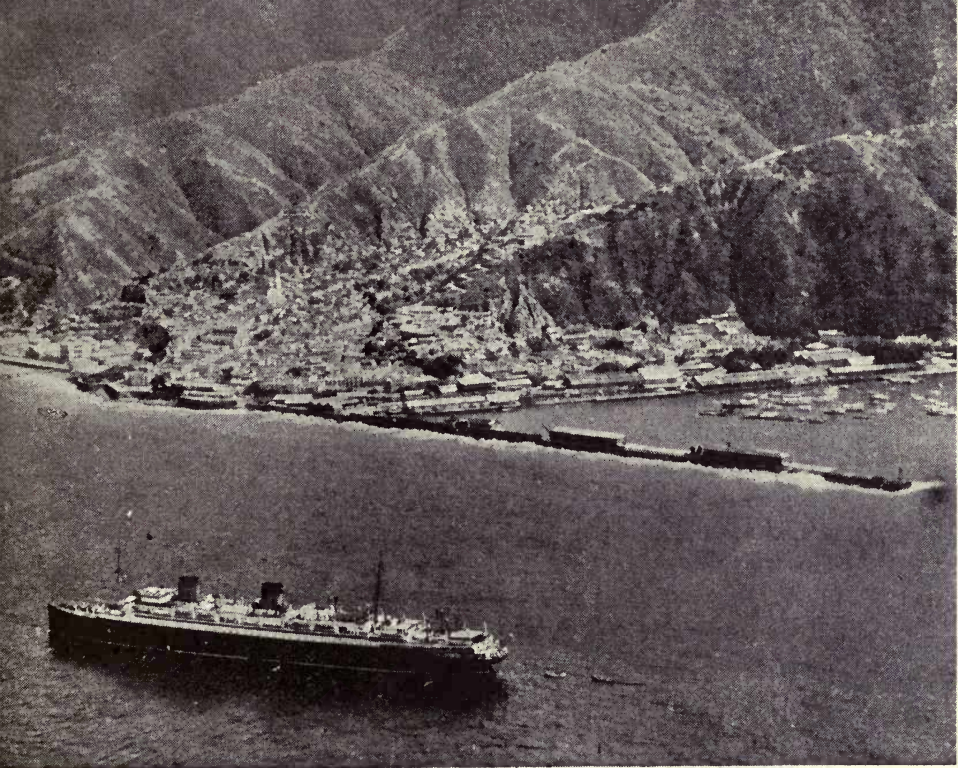
All this time the Colombians were protesting about the injustice we had done them. Finally, after oil was discovered in Colombia and our financiers grew eager to develop the country, it became important that we regain the friendship of that nation. In 1921 we paid our injured neighbor twenty-five million dollars, which some people called conscience money. Then our oil men and other investors were welcomed into the new fields, and Colombia tried to forget. However, many Latin Americans were long critical of Roosevelt's impatience with Colombia. No one regretted the building of the canal, for everyone recognized its great value. The criticism was directed at our hasty recognition of the independence of a rebellious province. Nations are supposed to be more deliberate and cautious about such matters. Theodore Roosevelt insisted to his last day that the end justified the means and that we owed no one an apology.

In the same period in which we freed Cuba and built the canal the Monroe Doctrine received new life and new meaning. We have already seen that the doctrine was announced originally to warn Europe against establishing monarchies or starting any more colonies here. We have observed, too, that this policy really had little effect at the time and for years afterward. But in 1895 it suddenly became a major policy. Presi-

dent Grover Cleveland had failed of re-election in 1888 partly because he had been accused falsely of being too friendly toward England. However, he won in the next election, and now, back in the Presidency, he wanted to demonstrate that his accusers had been wrong. He was looking for something to throw into Britain's face, when Venezuela's complaint came to his attention. Time and again that country had protested that England was taking part of its territory by expanding British Guiana beyond its proper boundaries. England had not been very polite in discussing the matter, and Cleveland was sympathetic toward "weak and abused" Venezuela. In a message to Congress he demanded that England submit the dispute to arbitration. We would investigate the complaint and draw the line where it belonged.

Cleveland and his secretary of state, Richard Olney, based their demand on the Monroe Doctrine. They said that if we were to prevent European nations from extending their system here, we must look into all such disputes. They explained that this was of paramount interest to us because we were practically sovereign in these continents. Thus to justify their position they gave to the Monroe Doctrine an interpretation not originally intended. This is called the Cleveland-Olney or "paramount interest" corollary to the doctrine. For a while we were on the verge of war with England, but finally that nation agreed to arbitrate. Our investigation revealed that the boundary line belonged about where the British claimed it should be, and the question was settled by treaty in 1899. Latin Americans were pleased that we had come to the defense of one of their countries, but disturbed by our talk about "paramount interest."

Though the Monroe Doctrine was still not recognized by Europe as a binding rule, it was now very much discussed in the Americas. Therefore when England and Germany planned to blockade Venezuela in 1902 because that country was not paying its debts to those countries, they took care to obtain our consent. After England and Germany started the blockade, public opinion in this country condemned them. All of Latin America applauded when they withdrew and submitted their



Pan American Airways

Part of Venezuela is rugged like this bit of seacoast

claims to arbitration. Two years later a similar crisis arose in the Dominican Republic. This time Theodore Roosevelt would not permit the European powers to collect by force the money owed them. Instead he demanded that the troubled Dominicans allow our agents to collect their customs duties and use part of the money to pay the foreign claims. Roosevelt said that if we were to enforce the Monroe Doctrine we must police the disorderly countries and see that they paid their debts; otherwise some European nation which came to collect might stay. This is called the Roosevelt or "big stick" corollary.

Conditions were so bad in the island that the Dominicans had to submit to Roosevelt's demand. By so doing they came fully under our direction, for our agents held their purse. We man-

aged not only the funds used to pay the debts but also the remainder of the receipts, which supported the Dominican government and public improvements. We then proceeded to do for this island country over a longer period of time much that we had tried to do in Cuba in only five years. Following Roosevelt, President William Howard Taft applied the "big stick" policy to Nicaragua in 1909, and President Woodrow Wilson used it in 1916 to add Haiti to our list of Caribbean protectorates. Though this policy brought immediate improvement to those countries and laid a foundation for later self-government, our "butting in" was resented by alert Latin Americans. They feared we were beginning a period of conquest that threatened them all. At that time it was almost unheard of that a big nation should take over a small one, make improvements, introduce self-government, and then withdraw. The taking over was common, but the giving up was rare. Much of the criticism was based on a misunderstanding of our real motives. Later when we provided one of the few instances in history when a big nation *did* withdraw from a weaker nation, a new light was shed on our imperialism.

Meanwhile some more tests were to be made of our Latin American policy. Woodrow Wilson became President soon after the Díaz dictatorship ended in revolution in Mexico. One revolutionist, Victoriano Huerta, seized the presidency from another, who was mysteriously assassinated. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta as Mexico's president. He said that all American nations should have popular government, and presidents who gained office by force or assassination instead of by election were violating that principle. It was a noble ideal, but hard to enforce. It would require much meddling in the affairs of our neighbors. For two years Huerta held sway in Mexico. Then Argentina, Brazil, and Chile mediated the dispute and a new president was elected. However, many Mexicans were angered by our meddling. One, "Pancho" Villa, who had failed to win the presidency after the mediation, blamed us and for two years afterward led bandit raids across the border into the United States.

While Wilson was stubbornly trying to establish his new international ideal, we were forgetting about ideals in two incidents which did not pass unnoticed in Latin America. One occurred in our relations with Central America. Back in 1907 we had helped the five states set up a court of justice for the settling of their disputes. Then under Wilson we made a treaty with Nicaragua reserving for our future use the canal route in that country. Costa Rica and El Salvador protested that they should have been consulted (and paid). They took their case to the Central American court of justice, and when it handed down an opinion unfavorable to us and Nicaragua, we simply ignored it and went our way. The Central American court, never very strong, thus was given its death blow by the refusal of Nicaragua and ourselves to recognize its decision.

The other incident affected Mexico. Long ago the Rio Grande had changed its channel where it runs through El Paso, Texas. Since the river is the boundary line, a dispute arose as to whether part of the Chamizal lowlands in El Paso was now in Texas or in Mexico. We agreed to arbitrate. This decision too went against us, and again we ignored it. Very minor though these incidents were, they were bound to trouble us later when we tried to lecture our neighbors about the importance of arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We tried to make up for wrecking the Central American court by leading in the negotiation for a new agreement in 1923. Not until 1942, however, did we consider resubmitting the Chamizal dispute to arbitration.

In 1927 President Calvin Coolidge gave a new turn to our Latin American policy. He made the statement to newspapermen that the United States looked upon Panama as a dividing line. North of that line our defense and investments required closer watch on our part, although our citizens and their property must be protected everywhere. The Coolidge policy was immediately published, and Latin Americans wondered if it meant that we intended to become more stern and even to take more territory in the Caribbean.

A test of this policy came when we refused to allow Panama

to lease an air base to a German company. Under this policy South Americans, south of Panama, could breathe a little easier, but Latin America still insisted that the Monroe Doctrine should really mean that in neither North nor South America should any nation be allowed to conquer another or to interfere in its affairs. They wanted the doctrine interpreted to restrict our aggression as well as that of European nations.

In thirty years we had freed Cuba, built the Panama Canal, and created a Caribbean empire. Perhaps by moving into that region first we kept Europe from gobbling up Middle America, but by so doing we also provoked suspicion and anxiety among our Latin American neighbors.

PAN AMERICA

In the same period in which we were acquiring Caribbean protectorates we were also promoting the organization of all American republics in the Pan American Union. Latin Americans naturally were suspicious of this. They asked how we could be a kindly big brother and an empire-builder at one and the same time. Only by skillful management were the two movements kept from conflicting with each other in those critical years.

After Henry Clay our next great champion of American co-operation was James G. Blaine, Secretary of State. He tried to call a Pan American conference in 1881, but Garfield's assassination interrupted the plans. Besides, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia were at that time locking horns in their War of the Pacific. A few years after that war had ended, another secretary of state issued an invitation for a meeting to be held at Washington in the winter of 1889-1890, and Blaine came back into office in time to preside over the conference he had originally promoted. Eighteen American nations sent delegates. Blaine told them that all met here "in absolute equality" in a

conference which will tolerate no secret understanding on any subject . . . ; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both conti-

nents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance—a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the Delegates, timely, wise, and peaceful.¹

Then he whisked them over the country in a special train to see the wonders of American industry. That long tour seemed a wasteful use of time when there were so many problems crying for attention. Yet perhaps the fellowship of traveling together was worth while in view of the need to get acquainted before anything could be done. The main achievement of the conference was the creation of an International Bureau of American Republics, which later became the Pan American Union. Since the resolution creating the bureau was adopted on April 14, that date has since been observed as Pan American Day.

Eleven years later, 1901-1902, the second conference met at Mexico City, followed by the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. After the fourth meeting, at Buenos Aires in 1910, the First World War delayed the next conference until 1923, when it convened at Santiago, Chile. Time and again in these meetings the question of the interference of the United States in Latin American affairs was raised on the floor and in committee meetings. The other delegates wanted us to agree not to use force in the protection of property or in the collection of debts, but leaders in the Pan American movement saw that if such questions were debated at length they might break up the conferences. In the matter of collection of debts the union "passed the buck" to the Hague Conference. Thus the organization was kept alive until a later date when the air would be cleared for better co-operation.

In the meantime these early meetings went forward with other work. The delegates strengthened the Pan American organization and set up agencies to gather information on trade,

¹*Minutes of the International American Conference*, Senate Executive Document, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., No. 231, p. 11. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1890.

education, and other subjects. They reached agreements on recognition of copyrights, trade-marks, and patents. They recommended a plan for the exchange of professors by North and South American universities. They encouraged the development of Pan American highways, railroads, and aviation service. They sought better understanding on principles of international law, and they reached an agreement on uniform postage rates in all the republics. In addition, in 1910, the Pan American Union obtained a beautiful permanent building at Washington, the gift of Andrew Carnegie.

The work of the union itself was thus notable in those formative years between 1890 and 1928. Moreover the union stimulated an interest in inter-American co-operation on the part of many other organizations. These groups held their own meetings on their special subjects. In this period eight conferences dealt with sanitation, six with science, five with child welfare, three with trade, three with international law, two with highways, two with postal co-operation, two with finance, and two with education. There was one each on railroads, medical problems, customs, regulations, welfare of women, Red Cross, electricity, journalism, aviation, and architecture. In addition a Pan American exposition was held at Buffalo in 1901 and one at Quito in 1909. All told, this was an impressive record. The many meetings were fostering co-operation in nearly all fields except in political harmony. The old problem hovered as a cloud over the many conventions. The time was coming when the disputes in that field were going to demand attention again, for harmony among the governments was needed for further progress. That time would come when the delegates assembled at Havana for the Sixth Pan American Conference in 1928. A little later we shall learn what happened then and afterward.

At this point we need to look back to see in what ways the opposition to the United States was expressing itself. First, the other countries wanted to make certain that the Pan American Union would represent them all. For a time they were afraid the union was our device to sugar-coat our imperialistic ambitions of those years. Soon partially satisfied on that point, the



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

La Paz, in Bolivia, as well as Buenos Aires,
has its New York style apartment houses



Acme

In a health service laboratory at Belém, Brazil,
mosquito larvae gathered from the Amazon Valley are studied

delegates from Latin America began contending for rules against the forceful collection of debts. Luis Drago of Argentina advanced what has since been called the Drago Doctrine. He pointed out that when loans were risky a high rate of interest was charged. Latin Americans were paying heavy interest on the money borrowed from the United States and other countries; yet navies and other forms of compulsion were used to eliminate the risk. Thus the rate, they claimed, should be only 4 or 5 per cent, whereas our investors were collecting 10 per cent or more. Either foreign governments should stop using force to collect the public debts, or they should lower the interest rate. This proposal went to the Hague Conference of 1907. There the nations agreed that force would be used only when a debtor nation refused to arbitrate the claims against it. Because of this loophole Latin Americans continued to feel uneasy. Another source of friction was our high tariff policy after the First World War. It closed the market in this country to several Latin American products, particularly the farm products of Argentina.

As a result of the opposition and misunderstanding, many Latin Americans became interested in movements that competed with the Pan American Union. One such movement was

called Pan Latinism. Since the other Americans were Latin in their European background, the foremost Latin nation in Europe, France, gave leadership to this rival movement. France advised our neighbor republics to unite, to maintain trade with Europe, and to remember the common interests of all Latin peoples. The French did not seek a close political union, merely a spiritual union under their leadership. To this end they severely criticized our imperial policy in literature distributed in South America. The movement won a considerable following, particularly among scholars who admired French literature and among others in the cities where many people spoke the French language. Regardless of this campaign, trade with France did not grow very fast. England, the United States, and Germany were offering the industrial products desired in these Latin American countries. Thus this Pan Latin Union remained largely a literary movement without a strong base in profitable trade.

Against the "Yankee Peril" still another movement rose. Led by Spain, it was called Pan Hispanism. After the last Spanish colony had gained its independence, the feeling of Latin America toward the former mother country grew more friendly. Thereupon Spain promoted this rival movement, similar to the Pan Latin movement, with even greater success than France had had with its effort. After all, Spain had the advantage of a common language and common cultural bonds with Spanish America. Spain's extensive literature was read and admired by many Latin Americans, some of whom began to give strong expression to their pent-up feeling toward the United States.

After 1914, Hispanic American conferences were held occasionally in Spain. In fact one was held as early as 1892 in memory of the discovery of America. But this movement also lacked a foundation in trade. Though it reached deeper than Pan Latinism, it too appealed largely to the upper classes. As these two movements came into conflict, Pan Hispanism gradually won the larger following. As a result many of our neighbors today dislike the name Latin America. It reminds them of the effort of France to wean them away from loyalty to their true Hispanic heritage.

WEIGHING THE RESULTS

In the interest of order, safety, health, investments, and trade we had forced our protection on Caribbean states. For the advancement of trade, communication, science, education, health, and international harmony we had fostered the Pan American Union. We had made bitter enemies and we had made loyal friends. The people of the United States were taking a greater interest in Latin American affairs. They were watching their policies at work. Soon they would begin to weigh thoughtfully the results.

We saw, for one thing, the response of Latin America when we entered the First World War. Before we declared war there was cause to suspect that Germany had designs on Latin America, and the actual clash revealed that Germany had many friends to the south of us. This friendship had been built on a growing trade, on the immigration of many Germans to Latin

American money is invested in these stockyards and packing plants at Montevideo

James Sawders



America, and on the mutual interest of Germans and Latin Americans in science and military affairs. Consequently only one South American country, Brazil, followed us into the First World War. The other seven nations that declared war were in the Caribbean region, where our influence was strong. Mexico, our closest neighbor, remained neutral, which was certainly to be expected in view of the trouble we had had with that country immediately preceding the war. Nonetheless it was gratifying to the advocates of close American co-operation that eight American republics followed us into the conflict.

At the end of the war nearly all of the Latin American republics joined the League of Nations. The rest followed later. They were very active in it for ten years. Always greatly interested in politics and international law, their statesmen became prominent leaders in the league. Three served terms as president of the Assembly, four as president of the Council, and six as judges on the World Court. Latin Americans expected great things of the league, but it disappointed them. Our refusal to join was one of the causes of its failure. In this respect, then, the people to the south must be given credit for advancing even ahead of our leadership in the 1920's.

As we watched further the course of American affairs we observed with gratification the peaceful settlement of two boundary conflicts. In 1922 Colombia and Peru refrained from taking up arms over a bit of disputed territory. They settled the boundary temporarily by a treaty. Later, in 1932, a war broke out between them, but a settlement was soon made which gave Leticia to Colombia. Meanwhile, in 1929, Peru and Chile ceased quarreling over Tacna and Arica. Ever since the War of the Pacific that disputed area had been threatening to cause renewed hostilities. But now the question was settled peacefully by dividing the land between the two countries. These agreements were hailed as an achievement of the new Pan American movement. Actually, however, they were the continuation of a trend already strong in Latin America. Of the many boundary disputes among these nations more than fifty had been settled by arbitration before this time. We have already observed the

steady decline in the frequency and severity of their wars among themselves during the preceding century.

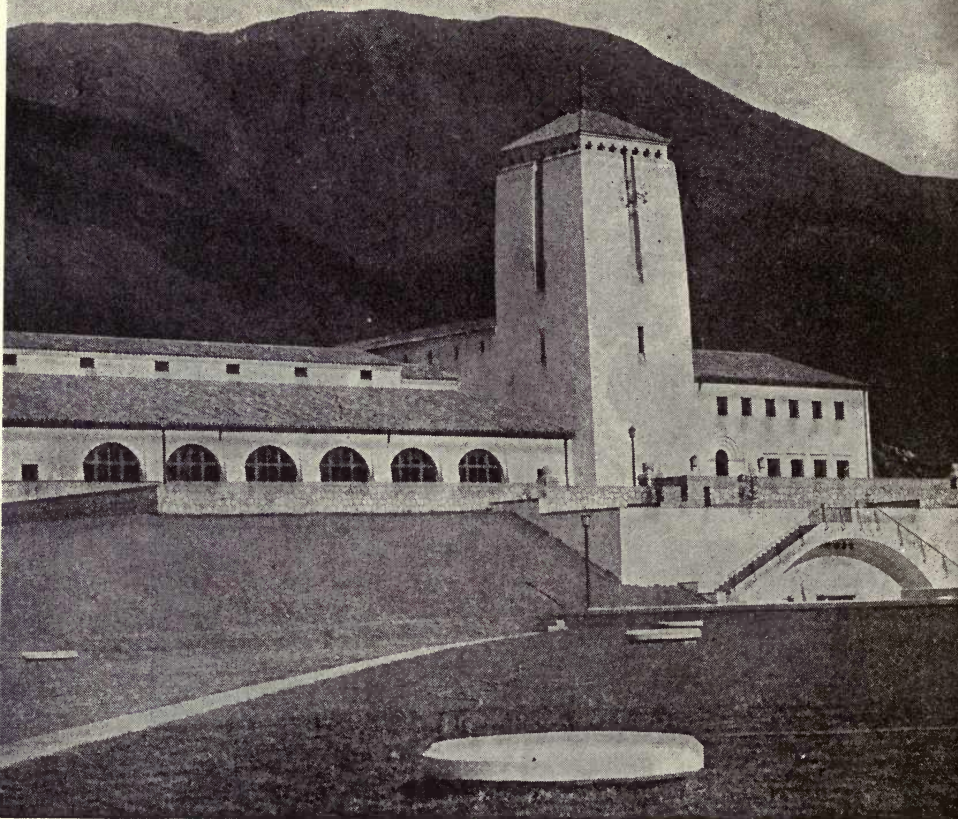
As we weighed the results of our relations with Latin America, we also took stock of our trade in those lands. Before the First World War England, Germany, and the United States had had most of the trade. The people of these nations were the leading investors in Latin America too. British capitalists had invested six billion dollars, Germany five billion, and those of the United States two billion. During the war British and German trade suffered a setback, and we took the lead. Our trade multiplied five times, and our investments soon grew to five billion. This boost in trade was abnormal, however, and we could not hold it all. England and Germany staged a comeback. Yet in 1929 we had about one third of the foreign trade of Latin America, England one sixth, and Germany one tenth. Of all our exports and imports, about one fifth went to or came from our southern neighbors. We imported mainly coffee, hides, oil, soda, flaxseed, copper, fruits, and vegetable products. We exported automobiles, machinery, oil, chemicals, and cotton goods.

As we looked over the balance sheet we saw that the bulk of our trade was with Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. In other words we were not penetrating very far south. The northern countries bought and sold in the United States, but many of the nations beyond the Caribbean region traded chiefly with Europe. Latin America, then, was divided into two zones so far as our trade relations were concerned. This division had already been apparent in the way the other Americans responded to our invitation to join us in the First World War, and it had once been given expression in the policy of President Coolidge that we had a vital interest in the region north of Panama.

As our money flowed southward we began to take note of the uses to which it was put. It had gone into mines, into railroads and telegraph lines, into Cuban sugar production, into Central American fruit plantations, into electric power plants, and in huge amounts into the drilling of oil wells. Too much of it was



being used for what we call "exploitive" purposes. That is, the money went into machinery and transportation by which products were taken out of the ground and shipped directly to this country or other markets. In such industries the laborers, who received at least part of the money, were often outsiders, or else if they were hired locally they were paid rather low wages. Although taxes were paid as well as wages, investments of that type were of little benefit to the people of those countries.



© C. P. Weimer from Three Lions

American engineers built the Vitelman Water Works at Bogotá, Colombia

They preferred that we invest our money in productive industries, those that would employ many local laborers at good wages in the making of goods for local markets. But our capitalists did not prefer that type of investment, for in most countries there was no prosperous middle class that could buy manufactured goods in great quantities.

In addition, there was the problem of the dictators. One third of the four billion dollars sent to Latin America in the 1920's had been lent to the dictators for the purpose of making public improvements, like the building of schools, hospitals, railways, and highways. But too often the dictators used the money for

the bribery and wars that kept themselves in power. After the fall of a dictator our bankers or government would insist on repayment of loans. The people who had to pay complained that they had received no benefits. How extensive this problem had become is revealed by the fact that by 1929 United States citizens were handling the customs receipts in four Middle American countries and in two South American nations, and that American economists had been sent as advisers to four Middle American nations and to four South American countries. Some Americans began to wonder just how far the United States would go in its imperialism and where it would lead in the end.

Between our domination of the Caribbean, our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and our economic policy, the "Yankee Peril" grew to immense proportions in the fears of Latin Americans. They considered the Caribbean region hopelessly lost; but some of the South American countries still sought to save themselves from this "octopus of the north." As we have seen, they spoke and wrote in opposition to our national policy and were cautious in co-operation with the Pan American Union. Then, to make matters worse, they unfortunately obtained many unfair notions about us as a people. We were described in their newspapers as a crude, boastful people who had all kinds of mechanical gadgets but no real refinement. Our schools were failing to impart a sound education, and our marriages were all ending in divorce. How extreme the misrepresentation was may be seen in the condemnation written by Blanco Fombona of Venezuela:

The most corrupt courts in the world are those of the Yankees. The most dishonest business in the world is that of the Yankees. The most manipulated elections in the world, those of the Yankees. There is equality, yes, there is equality: the equality of slavery to the policeman, who is the tyrant of the North American cities; the liberty to hunt negroes with sticks, stones and rifles; the liberty to treat these citizens of the United States . . . as wild beasts who will dispute with white men the possession of the earth.¹

¹Quoted in C. H. Haring, *South America Looks at the United States*, p. 157. The Macmillan Company, New York.

At the same time many of us had received unfair notions of the Latin Americans. We sometimes spoke of them as a lazy, disorderly, inferior people, whose civilization was of little importance. The Latin Americans were "not able to govern themselves" and "never would be," we said. "We ought to carry *our* civilization down there at the point of the gun; otherwise they will certainly fall under the spell of the dreaded communism," said others.

Thanks to the steady, uphill pull of the Pan American Union and the resulting co-operation in many fields, not all our people harbored these opinions. Some were beginning to question the long-run value of our imperialism. Perhaps, they suggested, the time had come when we could safely withdraw from active control of affairs in many of those countries and give them aid in solving their problems in their own way.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Why did many of us know little about Latin America before 1900?

2. Why was Cuba the first place to attract our active interference?

3. In what respect did the building of the Panama Canal injure our relations with Latin America? How did it help?

4. How did we enlarge our area of influence in the Caribbean region?

5. In what ways was Latin American opposition to us expressed?

6. Why did the Pan American Union progress cautiously in the early years?

7. Why did our trade with the nations to the south grow rapidly from 1900 to 1930?

8. What is meant by the statement that there were two zones in our relations with Latin American countries?

9. What would have to be done to overcome the misunderstanding of this period?

TO WRITE . 1. A letter from a Latin American to one of our newspapers inviting our capitalists to invest money in his country. State the opportunities and the desired purposes.

2. Prepare an answer to Blanco Fombona.

3. List the original principles of the Monroe Doctrine and add to them the later corollaries.

4. Make a timetable or chart with the growth of the Pan American movement in one column and our imperial expansion in another.

TO TELL . 1. If possible interview someone who has been employed in one of our industries in Latin America. Ask about the kind of work, the conditions of living, and the relations with the natives. Report to the class.

2. Read and report on the digging of the Panama Canal, the conquest of yellow fever, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, the growth of the banana industry, or the building of a railroad in Latin America.

TO DO . 1. Hold a Pan American conference at which you discuss some of the desired goals of the years 1890 to 1928 and the obstacles standing in the way.

2. From your current-events file select and study the clippings mentioning events or aftereffects of this period.

3. Draw a cartoon of the notions of Latin Americans about us, or of ours about them.

4. Color on an outline map the areas of our "control" and of our "influence" by 1920; and also draw lines connecting the United States and the countries with which we had the greater trade.

TO DEFINE . protectorate, imperialism, the Cleveland-Onley corollary, the Roosevelt corollary, exploitive investments, productive investments, filibuster, intervention, Pan Latinism, Pan Hispanism.

TO IDENTIFY

Blaine, James G.	Huerta, Victoriano
Carnegie, Andrew	Leticia
Central American Court	López, Narciso
El Chamizal	Martí, José
Clay, Henry	Platt Amendment
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty	Tacna-Arica
Drago, Luis	Vanderbilt, Cornelius
Estrada Palma, Tomás	Villa, Pancho
Hearst, William Randolph	Walker, William
Herrera, Tomás	

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

- EELS. *South America's Story*, Chaps. XLIII-XLVI.
 GOETZ and FRY. *Good Neighbors*, pp. 55-74.
 JONES. *Hispanic American History*, Chap. XXIII.
 KIRKPATRICK. *Latin America*, Chaps. XXX-XXXIII.
 SHEPHERD. *Hispanic Nations*, Chaps. VIII, XI, XII.
 WILGUS and D'EÇA. *Outline History*, Chaps. XXI, XXII.

[Books and Pamphlets]

- FISH, C. R. *The Path of Empire; a Chronicle of the United States as a World Power*. Vol. XLVI in Johnson's *Chronicles of America*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
 HARING, C. H. *South America Looks at the United States*. The Macmillan Company, New York.
 MASON, GREGORY. *Remember the Maine*. Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York.
 NICOLAY, HELEN. *The Bridge of Water*. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York.
 RIPPY, J. FRED. *The Caribbean Danger Zone*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
 ROWE, L. S. *The Pan American Union, 1890-1940*. Pan American Union, Washington.

EIGHTH UNIT

RECENT CHANGES

Our country with all its wealth has had many social problems to solve. Poverty, ill health, unrest, and unfair practices gave birth to a progressive movement after 1900. Some gains were made. Presently the depression

of the 1930's multiplied our problems. Then many ideas of the progressive program were combined to make our New Deal. We had the beginning of a peaceful revolution on a national scale in behalf of the middle and the lower classes. We are all familiar with its main features—social security, aid to farmers, slum clearance, new laws for the benefit of laborers, expansion of water power and conservation projects, generous loans to industries, and some efforts to regulate the economic system.

In Latin America conditions on the average were much worse than in this country. Problems were crying for solution, but even very minor changes would not come easily. For one thing, most countries were not accustomed to peaceful, democratic revolution; change was usually forced by physical strife. Further, many of the countries were naturally very poor, and to make matters worse their few riches were controlled in part by outsiders and in part by a few exceedingly wealthy people. Worse yet, the illiterate masses, long kept in subjection, might not know how to make the best use of freedom and property should they suddenly come into possession of them.

In Mexico the revolt against Díaz in 1911 became a social revolution seeking improvement of the lot of the Indian and the mestizo. Gains were few for years, but finally during the worldwide depression, while we were having our New Deal, Mexico



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

In their Congress Hall Bolivians have made important decisions

under Cárdenas started to build a new order. The common man began to come into his own. Reorganization was thorough and democratic in spirit. At the same time in other Latin American lands the lower classes sought a change. In fact, in Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile notable gains had been made years ahead of Mexico. In the other countries it was the depression of the 1930's that brought matters to a head. Each nation met the crisis of those years in its own way. The outcomes in Cuba, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia were especially noteworthy.

In the years of their struggle for reform, changes came into the ways of living—the work and pleasures—of many people. At the same time many old, established ways still continued. Latin America even more than before was a land of extreme contrasts.

THE NEW MEXICO

At the end of the dictatorship of Díaz, Mexico had a good reputation abroad, but a great part of its own population was in a sad plight. More than half the people were ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ill-fed. Few of them ever saw money, and many of those who did could count it only in pennies. Whole families were crowded into one-room huts and had little to eat besides beans and tortillas (pancakes). Intestinal disease and sickness of infants caused a death rate twice as high as in the United States. Three fourths of the people could not read or write. Moreover, only the Indians far back in the mountains controlled the land on which they lived. The others labored practically as slaves on their former communal lands which had been taken away from them by owners of the big ranches and plantations. One tenth of the population owned four fifths of the cultivated land. Under these conditions the demoralized lower classes

went from bad to worse by drinking too much whisky and pulque (an intoxicating drink obtained from the maguey, or century, plant).

When Francisco Madero overthrew the dictator Díaz, he stood merely for restoration of popular elections. But he struck the spark that lighted a great conflagration. The people expected everything of him at once. The wife of a diplomat who was in Mexico at the time saw the inauguration:

Immense crowds were thickly formed about the building, and among the *vivas* for Madero were growls, here and there, of "Down with the Gringos!" . . .

Well, Madero, the man of promises is President of Mexico, and what difficulties lie before him! After taking his oath, in a firm voice, he ended the speech which followed, rather suddenly, by saying if he did not keep his promises they could send him away.

The extreme pallor of his face was accented by his pointed, black beard, . . . but his mien was grave and his gestures were unusually few. Across his breast was the red, white, and green sash, the visible sign of the dream come true.

I could not but ask myself, as I looked about the vast assemblage and heard the roar of the Indian throngs outside, what have they had to prepare themselves for political liberty after our pattern?¹

It was true that Mexico was not yet ready for orderly self-government. When Madero failed to meet the expectations of the masses, revolution broke out in several quarters. From the south a peasant army under Emiliano Zapata marched on the capital. The peasants demanded "land and liberty," which thenceforth was the battle cry of the revolution. A long confusing struggle followed before the goal was reached. Huerta replaced Madero, who was then assassinated. Huerta's troubles at home and abroad led to his downfall. One army after another marched into Mexico City only to be forced out again by

¹Edith O'Shaughnessy, *Diplomatic Days*, pp. 148-149. Harper & Brothers, New York.



E. A. Pitshke from Philip Gendreau

For centuries mules have borne their burdens on the mountain paths
and on village streets

the next revolutionary band. One leader would have the support of the army, another of the peasants, and another of the labor union called the C.R.O.M. (Revolutionary Confederation of Mexican Workers). Presently Venustiano Carranza drew together enough of the opposing forces to become president.

In 1917 Carranza and his followers wrote a new constitution for Mexico, one that is still in effect. The famous Article XXVII of that constitution made land and subsoil wealth like oil, gold, and silver, the property of the nation. Privately owned property could be expropriated (taken by the government), if this was deemed necessary for the welfare of the country. In addition the constitution banned the old monastic orders, placed church property in the hands of the government, and barred the clergy from operating elementary schools or taking part in politics. For the laborers, trade unions and strikes were recognized as lawful, and the eight-hour day and the sharing of

profits of industries were guaranteed. In short, the document provided for a thorough revolution.

For more than fifteen years the reforms existed only on paper. Efforts to make them really effective met opposition both inside and outside of Mexico. In the 1920's Alvaro Obregón and Plutarco Elias Calles both tried to bring about the desired changes, but the result was a middle-of-the-road course in which only a few advances were made. For example, in 1925 President Calles undertook to enforce Article XXVII by restricting the holdings and freedom of the foreign oil companies. A long dispute with the United States followed, but finally the Mexican government did succeed in converting the control of the oil properties into fifty-year leases. The private companies accepted this. Next, in 1926, Calles proposed putting into effect the provisions of the constitution concerning the Church. The bishops then declared war on the Mexican constitution. In a protest strike they withdrew all the priests from the churches, and open warfare broke out in parts of the country. Catholics in the United States supported the Mexican bishops; Protestants in our country gave encouragement to Calles. Presently the bishops came to terms with the followers of Calles, the priests returned to the churches, and the quarrel died out. Calles and his party managed to distribute thirteen million acres of land to needy peasants, but that was only a beginning. In its main features the revolution was postponed.

From 1928 to 1934 Calles saw to it that he was succeeded by men of his National Revolutionary Party, who respected his wishes. In 1934 Calles was once more president-hunting. His candidate must have a good record as a liberal, but he must be willing to subject himself to the influence of Calles. The man to whom Calles now turned was General Lázaro Cárdenas, then governor of Michoacán. He was largely Indian, like Mexico's first great liberal, Juárez. As governor of his province Cárdenas had reduced his own salary, built seven hundred schools, and distributed land to the Indians. With such a record behind him he easily won the election in 1934.

When Cárdenas went into office his party had already



Ewing Galloway

This Indian woman in her backyard is making tortillas, the Mexican equivalent of our griddle cakes

adopted a six-year program designed to carry out the provisions of the constitution of 1917. Most people supposed that this program would exist only on paper, as was the case with the earlier program, while Cárdenas was following the middle path dictated by Calles. No. To the astonishment of the upper classes and foreigners Cárdenas carried out the program step by step. He personally supervised as much of it as possible. By going among the Indians and mestizos in all parts of the land to learn and meet their needs, he became so popular with them that few opponents dared seriously challenge his work. Those who did try to cause trouble he sent on errands outside the country and advised them to stay. Ex-President Calles was among those who left. This method of getting rid of opposition was a great improvement over the old firing squad. With broad popular support the great man of Mexico was now able to carry through

plans affecting land, education, Church, labor, and foreign investors.

"Land and liberty" became a reality. In his first four years in office Cárdenas distributed fifty million acres of land among three million families. Part of it was unclaimed land brought into cultivation by drainage and irrigation projects, but in the main the millions of acres had to be taken from the hacendados, who, if they did not cause too much trouble, were left enough of their old holdings to enable them to live comfortably. The appropriated lands were given to the laborers already living on and cultivating them. However, in many localities it was not the individual who held the land but the group, who were organized into ejidos, or co-operatives. They elected their own work bosses and developed a system of competition to stimulate work. Each ejido would watch the reports of progress made by the others, just as our baseball fans follow the league standings. Each laborer was paid at least one and a half pesos for each day he worked, and at the end of the year any profits above that were divided among the families.

This communal plan at once ran into snags. The Indians owned no tools with which to farm successfully, and they needed advice and training. To overcome this the ejido banks were founded. They advanced loans for machinery and improvements, similar to the Federal farm loans in this country. In addition, experts were sent to the ejido villages to give advice and help select delegates to co-operative conferences in the United States. Blights and droughts sometimes cut production so much that there were no profits to share, but on the whole the ejidos succeeded far better than many of their critics were willing to admit. The former landowners, in particular, expected complete failure. While waiting for that to happen they remained a sad but proud class, confident that they had been right—like our crushed Southern planters following the Civil War. Meanwhile, as the redistribution continued, another problem arose. If all eligible Indian families were given as much land as those already aided, there would not be enough cultivated land in Mexico to go around. More forest and pasture would

have to be brought into cultivation, or else the size of the grant would have to be greatly reduced. That problem remained to be solved at some future time.

The pitiable ignorance of the lower classes and their inability to manage their own affairs called for education, something that had been sadly neglected since the good beginning of colonial times. If the revolution was to succeed, the people must learn to read and write and figure. Therefore training schools for teachers were opened and their graduates were sent into the remote villages. There they won the confidence of the people by first helping to solve some local problem, like illness, or poor crops, or bad water supply, or need for recreation. From some such beginning the teacher could lead into a general program of re-education. Often these inspired, poorly paid teachers had to build their own schoolhouses. Some three hundred of those who went among primitive, superstitious Indians lost their lives. Most of them, however, were well received and immediately became recreation leaders, engineers, health officers, and social workers, as well as teachers.

While these missionary teachers were building thousands of rural schools, the townspeople were also improving their educational systems. Local industries were required by law to finance the education of their workers' children. The employer had to provide a schoolhouse and one teacher for every fifty pupils. Often the labor unions helped, with the result that very modern, attractive schools soon appeared in the mining towns, in the ejidos, and on the remaining haciendas. The teachers were under government supervision, like all other Mexican teachers, and were required by the constitution to give the pupils a "socialistic education," critical of capitalism and the upper classes. This of course provoked opposition in the United States, where the business classes feared the growth of too much socialism in the country next door.

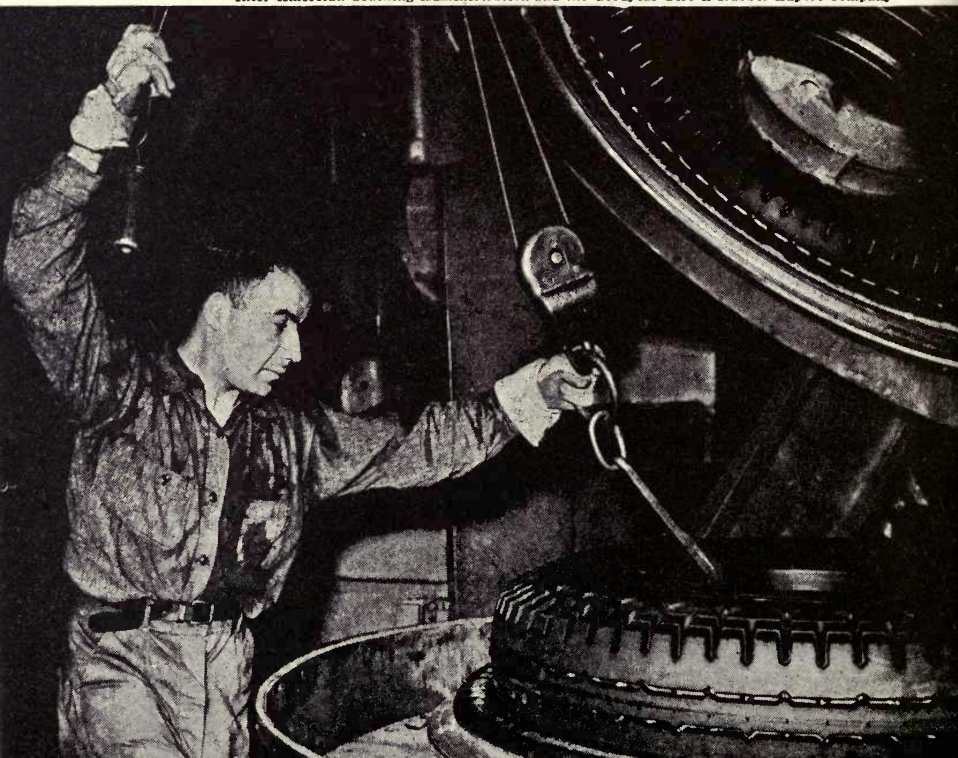
The Mexican constitution also provided that the schools should "exclude all religious doctrine." Not only had elementary education been taken out of the hands of the Church, but now the children were to be denied religious education in their

public schools. This was a hard blow for the Church. Thus another phase of the revolution was strife between the old Church and the new State. Up to this time the Church had provided most of the education the Mexicans had received, and its priests had often led in such liberal movements as the foundation of labor organizations. But the Church had been too friendly to the Díaz regime to suit the revolutionists. The great landlords had collected tribute from the Indians to build and support the local churches, and the church bells rang to call the peasants to work at daybreak as well as to call them to worship. Consequently, when the storm broke, the Indians too often wrecked the village churches.

Catholic leaders in Mexico and in the United States naturally were alarmed both by the damage done to church property and by the loss of privileges long enjoyed by the Church. But it was

Many Latin Americans are learning industrial methods in the United States

Inter-American Training Administration and the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Export Company



evident that the Mexicans were not turning against Catholicism; it was too much a part of their lives for that. They were striking at church property as a "symbol" of the old order, and they were trying to make their church leaders limit their activities to serving the spiritual needs of the people. The Church in Mexico gradually adjusted itself to the new conditions; priests returned to their parishes, and worship was renewed. The chief complaint of the Church was that it could no longer control elementary education.

Another part of the revolutionary program brought new advantages for labor. In addition to the older C.R.O.M. (Revolutionary Confederation of Mexican Workers), which was affiliated with our American Federation of Labor, Mexico now had a new national union, the aggressive C.T.M. (Confederation of Mexican Laborers). It was led by the former lawyer and professor, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who, because his union was affiliated with our C.I.O. (Committee on Industrial Organization), has sometimes been called the John L. Lewis of Mexico. The two unions sometimes fought each other and occasionally co-operated to seek more advantages. Under Cárdenas the unions obtained a minimum-wage law, better working conditions, and the right to force employers to bargain with them. In fact, it began to appear that the unions were taking possession of the cities just as the Indians were taking over the rural districts. This and the communistic talk of Lombardo Toledano added to the bitter upper-class feeling against Cárdenas in his own country and gave cautious people in the United States another reason for alarm at the situation in Mexico.

It was a labor crisis that led Cárdenas in 1938 to order expropriation of the property of the United States and British oil companies. When the companies refused to grant the oil workers' union a wage increase as generous as the workers demanded, the union took its case to the Mexican supreme court and won. The day before the opinion was announced, the companies had declared that they would not obey the ruling if it went against them. The day after the decision was rendered,



Wide World

Cárdenas, first a general, then president, and again a general, is beloved by the common people of Mexico

the companies retracted what they had said, but it was too late. By defying the Mexican government they had aroused the antagonism of a people whose national spirit was growing strong. The Mexican government seized the oil properties and offered to give the companies 60 per cent of the oil until they were repaid for their lost investment. They refused to accept.

Then followed a long, heated dispute that attracted world-wide attention. The issues were debated by alert citizens of this country as well as by the Mexicans. Several facts favored the oil companies. They had been invited into Mexico by a former president, Díaz. They had opened and developed fields that otherwise Mexico might not have touched. They paid better wages than many other Mexican industries. They provided engineers and a market for the oil, both of which Mexico lacked. Under President Calles Mexico, by limiting further expansion of foreign oil interests, had forced the companies to work under a heavy handicap, since a big company must ever be drilling new wells and opening new fields if it is to stay in business. The companies claimed a valuation for their property which included the future development that would never come to pass, but Mexico offered to pay only the value of the land and equipment.

Against the companies the Mexican government contended

that Díaz should never have given them such liberal leases, for by old Mexican law the subsoil wealth belonged to the nation. Mexicans argued, too, that the wages paid by the companies were not good enough, and that the companies had violated Mexican law and defied their supreme court. They insisted that any nation had the right to expropriate property owned by foreigners and pointed to many instances of this in other countries. When our Department of State upheld them in this contention, the conflict then centered on the amount of money Mexico should pay for the property. The dispute continued beyond the time of Cárdenas, and meanwhile the oil companies injured their cause by hoping for revolution in Mexico, by refusing to market Mexican oil, by trying to frighten our tourists away from Mexico, and by falling out among themselves. The seizure of the oil property was the climax in the effort of the people of Mexico to recover possession of the nation's resources.

Much good had been accomplished by the revolutionary program for the poorer classes. In our country, however, there was a dread suspicion that Mexico was going either communist or fascist. Really the nation was merely solving its problems in its own way. Much that looked at first like Russian communism was only a form of communism that owed its origin to the ancient Indian background. Long ago, before the white men came, the Indians of Mexico had lived in communities in which the land had been the property of the group and not of the individual. Now the citizens of modern Mexico were reviving some of the old ideas and combining them with some of the newer socialistic doctrines in an effort to give new life to their troubled nation.

What about President Cárdenas? He had successfully led a great peaceful revolution which had given land, better health, elementary education, and new hope to millions. Millions more looked to him for leadership in the completion of the stupendous task. However, his term as president was near its end, and the constitution forbade a president to seek immediate re-election. Would he ignore the constitution by staying in office and thus become a dictator, as had so many others before him? He gave

the answer by refusing to be a candidate for a second term. He would retire as any good democratic officeholder should, with faith that his countrymen would choose peacefully a capable successor to continue his work.

The two leading candidates in the election of 1940 were Manuel Ávila Camacho, Minister of Defense, and General Juan Andreu Almazán. Both claimed to be liberals who would continue the revolution, but President Cárdenas gave his support to Ávila Camacho. As the campaign proceeded, the quarters from which Almazán received his support indicated that he might be less liberal than he claimed. When election day approached, the tension became critical. In order to prevent the government from controlling the election, as had been done so often before, the congress enacted a law entrusting the counting of the ballots to local committees to be chosen by the voters on the spot at each voting place early on election day. The law eliminated one evil only to bring on another. The two parties contested for control of the local committees. If men of one party came to the voting place first and elected their committee, the men of the other party then set up their own ballot box somewhere else. Thus each party conducted its own election and each claimed victory. In this kind of situation there were many riots, but not so many as might have been expected.

As the result of the election of 1940, two men claimed the presidency. It certainly looked as if there would be trouble on inauguration day in September. However, President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized Ávila Camacho as the successful candidate and sent Vice President Henry Wallace to represent the United States at the inaugural ceremony. Almazán, who no doubt was the real loser, then withdrew, and the day passed with no serious disturbance. Under Ávila Camacho a second six-year plan was undertaken. The new president sought to strengthen the gains made under Cárdenas and to go forward with the revolution.

Ávila Camacho, however, was more tactful than his fighting predecessor. He improved relations with the Church; he supported a law bringing strikes under government regulation; and

he gave the Indians in some of the ejidos individual titles to the land. This change did not destroy the ejidos; it made them co-operatives instead of communal projects, thereby easing suspicion north of the border. In addition Ávila Camacho invited foreign capital to invest in productive enterprises under Mexican law, and followed through the oil dispute to a settlement in the spring of 1942. Mexico agreed to pay the companies about twenty-five million dollars for their property, or only one sixteenth of the amount they had originally asked. As another concession, the objectionable phrase about "socialist education" was removed from the Mexican laws governing the schools. Actually the teachers were little affected by the change of a few words; they went on with their work as usual. In this way some of the old sources of suspicion and friction were removed and the Mexican revolution became an accepted fact in that country and in the world at large.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION ELSEWHERE

In the other countries of Latin America poverty, ill health, illiteracy, and unrest were demanding a remedy, just as in Mexico. The depression of the 1930's so multiplied the difficulties that conditions were critical. Three countries, however, had already undertaken their social revolution; so to them we turn first.

In Uruguay in 1903 a remarkable man named José Batlle y Ordóñez became president, and he remained a powerful figure in local affairs until his death in 1929. He reorganized the government and the life of the people in his land along socialistic lines. The government went into business on a large scale. It operated the banks, the electric power companies, the insurance companies, some of the telephone exchanges, and many industries. To save money the army was disbanded. This and other economies made possible a state system of free education. In addition Batlle instituted an eight-hour day for labor, a minimum-wage law, public building projects to absorb the un-



Moore-McCormack Lines

Attractive high-school girls of Montevideo are much like our own schoolgirls

employed, and a program of government-sponsored concerts and recreational activities. By the new constitution of 1917 the ballot was extended to women, and a nine-man administrative committee was set up as a check on the president.

As a result of these many reforms the little republic of Uruguay became one of the most democratic in America. It grew and prospered until the depression of the thirties brought loss of foreign markets and resulting unrest among the unemployed. But after the election of Alfredo Baldomir in 1938 the threatening disorder quieted down and, to assist in recovery, many co-operatives were organized among the farmers. By a hard pull the people managed to restore a fair amount of prosperity and to keep their democracy intact. Although the outbreak of European war caused more serious loss of markets after 1940, and cut off Uruguay's imports of fuel, iron, and medical supplies, the citizens of the little republic tried hard to adjust to their wartime privations, and in December, 1942, they peacefully elected as president a wealthy but liberal lawyer, Juan

José Amézaga, who promised to preserve the nation's democracy and social advancement.

Argentina also launched a progressive movement soon after that of its neighbor, Uruguay. In 1916, for the first time, the common people of Argentina elected to the presidency the man of their choice. He was Hipólito Irigoyen, who had risen from poverty through humble political positions to leadership of the Radical Party. He and his party sponsored many reforms in favor of the poorer classes, especially the women and children. These included public relief for the ill, the aged, and the unemployed, and provision for improved sanitation, for assistance for underprivileged children, and for arbitration of strikes. However, Irigoyen ran into difficulties. In spite of strong disapproval on the part of many of his people he kept his country neutral during the First World War. In that war the loss of European trade brought on a severe depression, which led to strikes and general unrest. Irigoyen, the "great commoner," called out the troops to break a strike, and in the resulting clash many laborers were shot down. In this situation further

Recent years have seen a big road-building program in many parts of Latin America

Acme



reforms were postponed. Thus under the next president, another radical, a pension law for the workers met such strenuous opposition that it was repealed.

In 1928 Irigoyen again became president, but now grown old and obstinate, he behaved like a dictator. He was thrown out of office in 1930 by his army officers, who acted in behalf of the conservative aristocrats. This class then took control. However, the conservative president, Agustín Justo, was able to accomplish little in face of the world depression, which hit Argentina hard. In 1938 he turned over the office to a successor of his own choice, Roberto Ortiz.

Ortiz, a successful lawyer and businessman, turned out to be rather liberal in his policies. A program of rehousing, road-building, and social insurance was undertaken in his administration. In addition, co-operatives were multiplied and homesteads were offered to poor families. Unfortunately, however, Argentina had moved from one difficult situation to another; for now renewed war, the Second World War, was again robbing the country of its normal outlet for grain and cattle products. The proposal that the government should build many industries to absorb the unemployed and to make needed products was seriously considered, but Argentina could not go far in that direction because it lacked major industrial resources.

Unfortunately the popular Ortiz became so ill from diabetes that he retired and his vice president, Ramón Castillo, assumed the duties of the office. Since he was more conservative and seemed pro-German, there was conflict between the nation's "two presidents" until the death of Ortiz in July, 1942. Thus for a while this political friction added complications to national affairs, but even with the loss of markets Argentina was not so badly off as most of its neighbors. The land was still concentrated in the hands of a rich upper class; yet on the whole the remainder of the population, except the near-slaves on cotton plantations, fared rather well. The average income was ten dollars a month lower than the amount supposed to be needed for a bare living, but figures for our own country showed a



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

This new post office at Valparaiso, Chile, might be described as "streamlined." It stands in a busy section of the city

similar shortcoming. Moreover, Argentina had a larger middle class than existed in the other countries. One fourth of the total population lived in greater Buenos Aires alone, and more people were moving there during the farm depression. By way of summary, then, this nation had less serious need than many other Latin American countries of a thoroughgoing social revolution; it obtained some reforms by democratic methods; it still needed more.

In the 1920's Chile undertook a program of social reform. After a long period of weak presidents and domination by the landowners, a man of the people was elected in 1920. He was Arturo Alessandri, part Italian by birth, and a friend of the rotos, or farm laborers. Chile was in distress at the time. Foreign markets had been lost, prices had gone up, and wages remained pitifully low. Alessandri immediately asked congress for laws to raise the wages, regulate the prices, and introduce social insurance. The old aristocrats who controlled congress refused the request, and Alessandri went to Europe.

The army men who had taken over the government soon gave up and invited Alessandri to return. In 1925 he directed the writing of a new liberal constitution that guaranteed personal freedom, separated Church from State, and made legal a program of social insurance. The latter was put into effect at once. The new laws provided for several social-security funds for aid in case of accidents or illness, for assistance in the building of homes, and for pensions upon retirement. The money was to be raised by annual pay-roll deductions of a certain per cent for each worker. Chile then had the most advanced social-security system of any modern nation. But thenceforth the reform movement slowed down. It is true that later presidents provided a few homesteads for resettlement of

President Vargas of Brazil greets his visitor,
Secretary Knox



the unemployed and experimented with government business undertakings. It is true that under Pedro Aguirre Cerda, elected in 1938, foreign oil refineries were expropriated and government price controls were enacted. But the basic problems of land and water remained unsolved. Six hundred families owned half the cultivated land in the nation. The price of land and of irrigation rights was far out of

reach of the farm laborers. Still without land of their own, they remained poorly paid workers on the ranches, as had been the case for generations. The progressive social legislation assisted mainly the up-and-coming middle class in the cities and mining towns. After Aguirre Cerda died in November, 1941, Dr. Juan Antonio Ríos became president, and everyone realized that he faced a grave responsibility both at home and in foreign affairs.

We have seen that three nations in the south temperate lands undertook their greatest social reforms very early. Now for a glimpse into some of the other countries, particularly those that have attracted recent attention because of their present problems and progress. First, Cuba, the sugar island. There in 1925 a businessman, Gerardo Machado, became president. Because sugar prices were low and conditions on the plantations were correspondingly bad, he tried restriction of sugar production and with it encouragement for the introduction of other industries. Hard times were made worse by the depression of the 1930's. When Machado attempted to stay in office as a dictator, cruelly oppressing the people, he was overthrown by revolution.

Machado fell in 1933. Since that time the dominant figure has been Colonel Fulgencio Batista. From 1933 to 1940 he controlled the country as head of the army, but in 1940 he concluded that it was time he should be president. In his years in control he reformed the army, established rural schools taught by army officers, divided some of the large estates into small homesteads, promoted a public-works program for the unemployed, established minimum wages and safety regulations for laborers, chartered many co-operatives, and offered a government recreation program. The new constitution of 1940, legalizing all this, required the citizens, including women, to vote in all elections! Cuba, then, had a bloodless revolution under an industrious dictator who was ambitious for the welfare of the common people.

The world-wide depression brought a dictatorship to Brazil too, but with less immediate social revolution. Getulio Vargas, elected president in 1930, faced problems that defied solution. The sugar and coffee markets had collapsed. The government

tried burning part of the coffee crop, with little success. Then it encouraged coffee planters to shift to cotton and urged the introduction of new industries. Each election saw serious riots. Finally, in 1934, Vargas set aside the constitution, dismissed the congress, and began ruling by decree. Then the shrewd, active, chubby little dictator, without any political party of his own, wiped out banditry on the frontier, ended the powers of the state governments, and sought to restore prosperity to Brazil.

Under Vargas education advanced, but the schools were still far too few. Marshes were drained, some co-operatives were started, particularly in the south, a minimum-wage law was passed, and foreign oil interests were controlled. But the country remained poor in the midst of enviable natural richness. The laborers, making on the average about twelve dollars a month, in our money, were unable to feed and clothe their families properly. At the other extreme were the very rich people, the few who owned the land and the industries. Their coffee and cotton plantations were still operated much like medieval manors. Brazil seemed to have solved its race problem, but it still had to contend with problems resulting from too great a dependence on too few crops for too long a time.

In Colombia, neighbor of our Panama Canal Zone, democracy held sway. In 1934 the liberal Alfonso López became president and undertook far-reaching reforms. The schools, removed from church control, were expanded and improved with government aid. Public utilities and land were expropriated or controlled by the government. Labor was given the right to bargain, small farmers were granted aid, women received the privilege of voting and attending the colleges, and the people in general were aroused to the importance of public affairs. The next president, Eduardo Santos, was more conservative, but the reforms were preserved. Their original sponsor, López, was re-elected president in 1942. Important to us, because of the location of Colombia next to the vital Canal Zone, was the increasing friendliness of that nation toward the United States.

In Venezuela progress was being made under presidents who

allowed personal liberty. This was surprising, because the tyrant Gómez was in power until 1935. After his fall there was danger that the nation would go through trials like those of Mexico after Díaz. Not so. A reasonably fair election brought into office a capable man, Eleazer López Contreras. A new constitution restored liberties and made legal the needed reforms, which included some land redistribution, an eight-hour day, collective bargaining, social-security insurance, profit-sharing, and some improvement in education and sanitation. In addition the nation maintained friendly relations with the United States and made a strong bid for our tourist trade. The government was supported by a tax on oil production, and—a marvel nowadays—the budget was balanced and the treasury had a surplus. Since this nation had never become involved in a serious dispute with foreign investors, the oil properties had not been expropriated. When the election of 1941 brought into office a new president, General Isaías Medina Angarita, there was every indication that these policies would be continued.

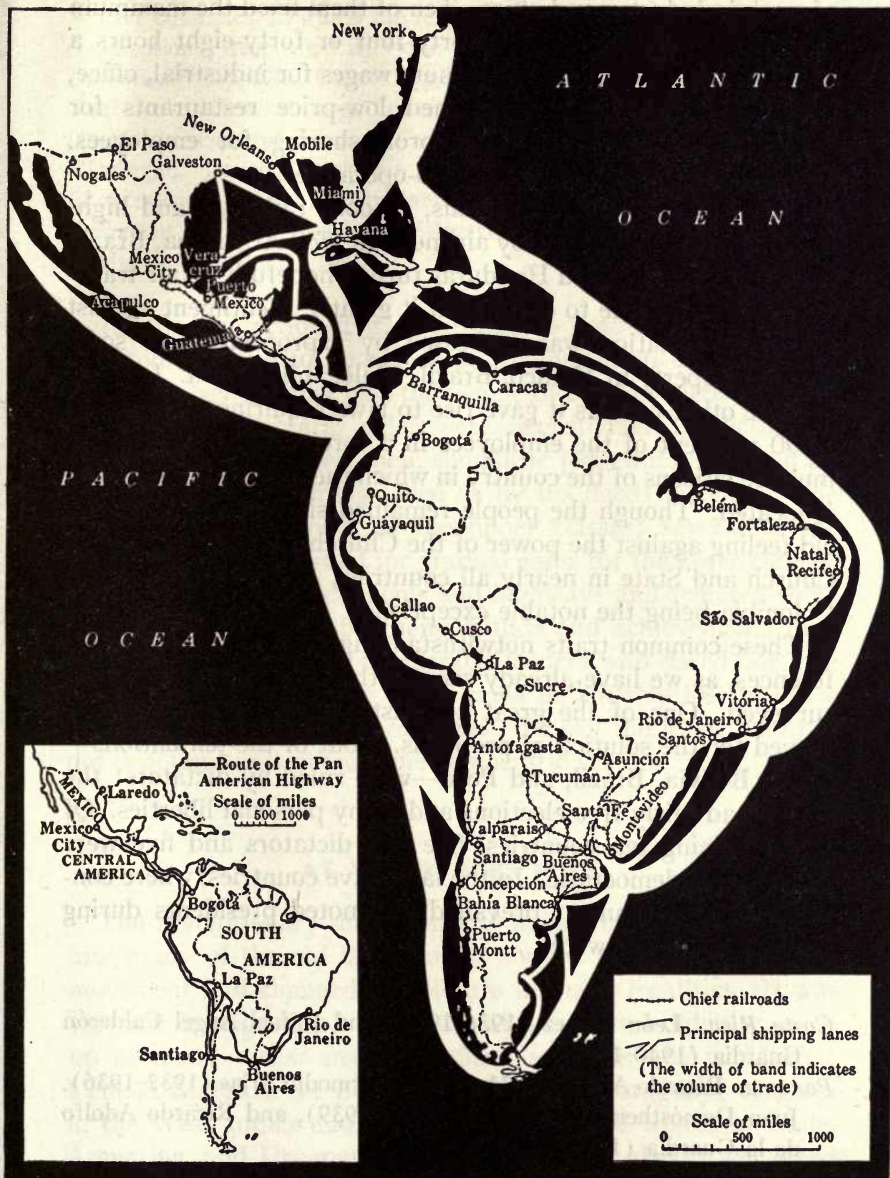
From Peru comes a different story. There under the dictator Oscar Benavides, 1933 to 1939, a social-insurance law was enacted and some model villages were built, but beyond that there was no social revolution. About two thirds of the land was owned by Church and aristocrats, and the mineral resources were controlled by outside investors. The Indians, who were greatly in the majority, labored in the fields of their masters as serfs did in the Middle Ages. There was no real democracy, for the upper classes dared not allow it. Raúl Haya de la Torre came forward with a liberal program, by which he advocated democratic reform, repossession of the mines, land for the poor, and a rebirth of religion and national spirit. His party, called the Apristas, had the support of the common people. But when election time came in 1936 and 1939 the Apristas were barred from voting. In the latter election the well-meaning Dr. Manuel Prado won, even though he did not have majority support. But the Apristas would not revolt. A strong army and police force was pitted against them, and Haya de la Torre stood for bloodless democratic advancement. His party would have to bide its time.

Peru's neighbor Bolivia also resorted to dictatorship during the troublous recent period. In fact the country had long suffered from revolutions and political turmoil. The lower classes remained in poverty and ignorance, while the wealthy upper classes, the Church, and the foreign owners of mines controlled the nation's resources. In 1936, when the government attempted to start a national insurance and savings fund for the mine laborers, these workers and the college students demanded more thorough reforms. By revolution they took control and tried to establish a form of government in which the labor organizations would practically run the country. In 1937 this experiment was interrupted by a revolt which placed Colonel Germán Busch in the presidency.

President Busch promised restoration of constitutional government, but the distress caused by the depression first demanded strong measures. The president set up a national advisory council to direct the efforts to restore prosperity, and a little later he entered into a trade agreement with Germany and decreed expropriation of the property of the Standard Oil Company. Meanwhile the Bolivian government agreed to end the war with Paraguay over the Chaco and joined with Argentina to plan the building of a railway across the Andes. Because of the continuation of the economic crisis, Busch in 1939 made himself absolute dictator, ruling without congress, elections, or courts. Before the year had ended, however, the worried dictator shot himself. By the subsequent national election, in the spring of 1940, General Enrique Peñaranda became president. Immediately, faced by threat of revolt on the part of liberal reformers, President Peñaranda declared a state of seige whereby he and the army ruled by martial law.

Our observation of the struggle for a social betterment could be carried on into several more countries, where the reform movement and the depression brought changes during the 'thirties. We have visited only the countries that made an early start and those that loomed large in the international picture.

When all twenty of the countries are taken into consideration we see that there were many common trends in this recent



period. Nineteen of the nations passed laws limiting the hours of work in industry and office. Ten of them fixed the maximum at eight hours a day and at forty-four or forty-eight hours a week. Seventeen specified minimum wages for industrial, office, and farm workers. Four opened low-price restaurants for laborers, and four introduced profit-sharing for employees. Many more experimented with co-operatives.

Most countries built hospitals, schools, railways, and highways, and all were served by airlines. In fact, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, and Honduras turned hopefully to air transportation and came to depend on it greatly. Sentiment against outside domination was expressed by expropriation of some foreign property in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Bolivia. In those and the other nations it gave rise to laws requiring that 50, 80, or 90 per cent of the employees in a foreign-owned enterprise must be citizens of the country in which the business or industry is located. Though the people remained sincere Catholics, the old feeling against the power of the Church led to separation of Church and State in nearly all countries, Argentina, Peru, and Colombia being the notable exceptions.

These common traits notwithstanding, there were many differences, as we have already seen in the ten countries we have surveyed. One of the great contrasts was in the means employed for the solution of problems. Four of the ten nations—Cuba, Bolivia, Brazil, and Peru—were ruled by dictators; the others had fairly free elections and many personal liberties. Of the remaining ten countries, five had dictators and five were more or less democratic. In the latter five countries, where constitutional government prevailed, the noted presidents during this recent period were:

Costa Rica. León Córtez (1936–1940) and Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia (1940–1944)

Panama. Ricardo Alfaro (1931–1932), Harmodio Arias (1932–1936), Juan Demósthene Arosemena (1936–1939), and Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia (1941–)

Haiti. Sténio Vincent (1931–1941) and Élie Lescot (1941–1944)

Ecuador. Carlos Arroyo del Río (1939-)

Five countries, in which the leaders were more important than the constitutions, were ruled by these dictators:

Dominican Republic. General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (1930-)

Guatemala. General Jorge Ubico (1931-)

Honduras. General Tiburcio Carías Andino (1932-)

Nicaragua. General Anastasio Somoza (1937-)

El Salvador. General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez (1931-)

Paraguay. General José Félix Estigarribia (1939-1940) and General Higínio Morínigo (1940-)

In this connection it is interesting to note that most of the dictators claimed to be democratic. That is an odd combination, but they claimed that the people of their countries, unprepared for democratic rule, were accustomed to dictatorial leadership. The leader, then, should be judged not so much by the method of obtaining office as by his deeds in office. The earlier dictators supported the upper classes; several of the more recent ones worked for gradual gains for the lower classes. They commonly built schools and highways and fostered some social reforms. Thus by their attitude and achievements they claimed that they were democratic leaders who dared not give up their power lest their small gains be entirely lost in strife and selfish rule, as in the old days. To say the least, they did not denounce and ridicule the democratic system.

AT WORK AND PLAY

The revolutionary movements promised to breathe new life into many of the old lands to the south. Earlier yet, another movement had changed the picture in many localities. It was the new immigration. Latin Americans were originally made up of many races: mainly Indians and mestizos in Mexico, Central America, the northern Andes, and Paraguay; Negroes in the West Indies and northern Brazil; and whites in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. These nations had always welcomed immigrants; and quite early, before the end of the 1800's, many



James Sawders

This German ranch house is near Lake Todos los Santos in Chile

Germans and Italians had gone to Argentina and Brazil, just as many European immigrants were pouring into the United States in those years. In the new surge of immigration after the First World War, came more of them; also Jews, Poles, Spaniards, Portuguese, Russians, and Japanese. Too often they established colonies and lived a life apart, although this was not true of the Italians in Argentina and southern Brazil. As a result of the old and new immigration Brazil had acquired by 1940 more than a million Italians, a million Germans, and a few thousand Japanese, while Argentina had nearly two million Italians. These newcomers were now to be counted among the Latin Americans.

In the recent period, and to some extent before that, the Machine Age began to make itself felt in the cities and in the

more progressive rural districts. It introduced railroads, steamboats, telegraph lines, sewing machines, automobiles, tractors, telephones, electric lights, "movies," airplanes, and radios. These advantages brought new problems, for now life had to be readjusted to a new pace. Though Latin Americans long had shown great talent in the handicrafts, which in time would help them to become good mechanics, their inexperience with modern machinery was a handicap. They blundered and fumbled.

Old ways and new, old inhabitants and new, combined to produce contrasts more extreme than ever before. Thus life went on, in part according to old, old patterns and in part adjusted to the new forces. On one of the co-operative farms, for example, the worker went forth to spend his day driving a tractor or working with other tools under a boss he had helped to elect. In the course of the year this farmer would go to many meetings and enjoy the benefits of a community doctor and a good school for his family. And at the end of the year, if all went well, he might have some shares in the profits to invest in improving his home.

Not far away quite likely a barefoot Indian could be seen laboriously plowing, or scratching, his hillside field with an old wooden plow drawn by oxen. He spent long hours planting and tending his corn and cutting sticks for fuel and grass for the livestock. This fuel had to be toted in bundles on his back or by donkey over long, narrow trails. His wife spent her days preparing corn and beans for their meals and spinning yarn to be woven into cloth on the back-breaking handloom. Perhaps there would be time to make a scarf or a basket or a piece of pottery to send to market to sell for a few pennies. But those few pennies would not buy very much. Some Indians had advanced a step and were using nearly all their time making things and selling them at the market for money with which to provide their bare necessities.

In addition there were the plantation laborers. Take, for example, the Negro or Indian of the banana region. He labored in the forest from early until late. The banana shoots had to be planted; then the trees must be felled on top of the shoots.



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

The teacher of this company-owned school
in the Bolivian tin-mining district must have her hands full

Later the branches and weeds would be cut out of the dense mass of fallen trees and underbrush. At the same time other workers harvested the crop planted in another forest the year before. They went out in groups of three under company bosses. Skillfully they cut off the branches, removed the bunches of bananas, and carried them on their backs to the plantation railway. This work was hard and dangerous, and the pay was poor.

Or observe the Negro on a Cuban sugar plantation. He went to the fields of heavy cane at daylight to cut and trim the stalks with his machete. Or perhaps he drove the oxcart that hauled the cane down the red dirt road to the freight cars. Tired, but a few pennies richer, he would return at night to his family crowded in one of the little cabins in a clearing near the big plantation house.

Perhaps our workingman was one of the few remaining gauchos in Argentina. If so he was a ruddy-faced, athletic native who could ride horseback harder and longer than anyone else in the world. He knew his way through the thickets

and tall grass of the plains, and for days or weeks at a time he would be away from the ranch house. He slept in the open and ate at the nearest chuck wagon. His was a hard life, too, for which he received little pay, but he liked it.

Or, to take one more example, the laborer in a copper mine in Chile. He lived in a company town high on a barren slope of the Andes. His shift at work he spent perhaps underground, drilling and hauling out the ore; or maybe he worked in the big

Santiago, Chile, has its transportation problem.

On this workers' bus one can ride for the equivalent of less than a cent

Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions



mill, tending the machinery that crushed and treated the ore. After his turn at work he would return to a modern cottage built by the company. He enjoyed the benefits of electric lights, hospital service, good schools, community recreation, and social security savings. His company was thus one of the few in South America noted for liberality toward its laborers.

These illustrations suggest only the life of farmers, ranchmen, and miners, but of course there was another class of workers—the townsmen. Ever since the early days the Latin Americans had liked to live in towns, where there were social opportunities and bustling activities not found in the country. In the recent period a large proportion of the townsmen lived and worked in much the same way as their colonial ancestors; but many others—the rising middle class—had employment quite like that in our own cities. In the midst of modern conveniences they maintained a home life that preserved many of the old Hispanic customs as to religious practices, courtesies, foods, recreation, and the like. On the other hand, when they were at work they manipulated modern machinery, or employed modern office practices, or strove to apply modern methods in solving the problems of government and society. Many of these workers were beginning to copy the curt, businesslike ways of the Yankee, and many were learning to do without the customary siesta, or afternoon nap.

By labor in factory and office, in mine and field, the Latin Americans were producing many of the things they needed to support themselves and many other products that they could trade abroad. The countries of Middle and South America, on the basis of their export products in the recent decades, may be classified in three groups. (See map on page 309.)

1. Nations whose exports were almost entirely minerals. These included Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Chile, and the mineral products that they shipped out were mainly oil, tin, gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, and nitrates.

2. Nations whose exports were mainly the products of farms, ranches, and forests. These included Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the nine small nations of the Caribbean region. The



James Sawders

These girls of Tabacunda, Ecuador,
are weaving what we call Panama hats

four South American countries exported chiefly coffee, cotton, wool, wheat, meat, hides, livestock, cacao, linseed, and vegetable products, whereas the Caribbean countries sold sugar, bananas, coffee, and tobacco.

3. Nations that exported both types of products. These were Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. They shipped abroad oil, coffee, cacao, cotton, copper, gold, and mineral ores.

In return all these countries purchased machinery, metal goods, automobiles, and chemical products, and some had to import oil, coal, clothing, and foodstuffs. In 1940 the United States was supplying 53 per cent of these imports and was buying 44 per cent of all the exports of Latin America.

Those nations which had only one or two products in abundance found their foreign trade very important to them. For example, tin accounted for an average of about 70 per cent of

the exports of Bolivia; copper and nitrates, 75 per cent of those of Chile; sugar, 80 per cent of the exports of Cuba; bananas, 80 per cent of the exports of Honduras; grain and meat products, 80 per cent of the total exports of Argentina; and coffee nearly 90 per cent of the exports of El Salvador.

This trade was important in another way, for most of these countries were in debt. If they could sell abroad more than they bought, they would have a balance that could be used to pay those debts. On the whole the nations were faring rather well in this respect before the Second World War brought new difficulties, as testified by the fact that the total imports in 1940 cost them about one and one third million dollars, while the exports brought in about one and three fourths millions. We may readily see why the prosperity, the very life, of the people in many of the countries was closely bound up in their foreign trade. A sudden drop in the world price of one or two products, the outbreak of a world war, or the failure of a single crop often caused a financial calamity.

In the work-a-day world to the south the women had an important part. In the rural districts those of the lower classes labored in the fields, besides doing the housework and making clothes, pottery, baskets, and other useful articles. In the towns the women of the lower classes prepared food products, worked in light industries, sold goods at the market place, obtained employment as housemaids and engaged in many other types of work. Some women of the middle class took up professional or office work.

There remained, however, much of the old attitude concerning the proper place of womankind. Girls were still secluded and chaperoned, and married women were generally required to devote themselves strictly to husband and home, in the Latin manner. Yet the great changes sweeping through Latin America in recent years were having effect here too. More and more the women, even those of the upper classes, were breaking the old restraints and gaining greater freedom. This was true to some extent in all the nations; and, as we have seen, one of the common recent innovations was that women were given the



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As this scene shows, modern Latin American stores are much like those of the United States

right to vote. Especially in Brazil and in the southern countries—in Chile, and a little less in Argentina and Uruguay—did women come into their own in this recent period. They began to enter professions like law, medicine, and social work, they formed women's clubs, they joined political organizations, and some few even became mayors of their cities. In 1939 the progressive, vivacious Señora Ana Rosa de Martínez Guerrero of Argentina was elected chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, an organization working for the advancement of women in all the lands of this hemisphere.

Advancement in education was one of the factors in the progress of women. It was in Chile, as early as 1877, that women first gained the privilege of enrolling in the universities. Since then, in more and more of the nations, they have ob-

tained training to prepare for citizenship and for careers in teaching, social work, and office work. Time and again in this survey of recent trends we have observed the efforts of the different countries to improve their school systems. As a result of these efforts most of them developed a national program patterned after our system or European systems. The elementary schools taught the fundamental subjects to children and to retarded adults. The secondary schools were of two types. One prepared for the university, and the other gave industrial and vocational training. The universities were really professional schools, with faculties teaching law, medicine, engineering, and other professional courses. As a rule they included no liberal-arts colleges like ours. Some of the universities, particularly those at Havana, Mexico City, and Lima, now make a special effort to give courses for visiting teachers and students from the United States. However, with all the progress that was made in education, a tremendous task lay ahead. The proportion of the people who still could neither read nor write ranged from one fourth of the population over six years of age in Argentina, Uruguay, and Costa Rica, to over three fourths of the population in Haiti and Guatemala. Further social progress would be held up until this problem could be solved.

Progressive leaders in Latin America were aware of the great task they faced in the field of education, particularly in rural education. We have already observed the way Mexico rose to the challenge in the 1930's. Other countries also attacked the problem vigorously. In Uruguay the government sponsored a national awakening campaign in 1939. By means of radio talks, movies, lectures, and newspaper articles, the sad plight of the elementary schools was brought forcibly to the attention of the public. The campaign produced results. Within a year one hundred and seventeen new schools were opened and six hundred additional teachers were employed. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador were attacking their problem in a different way. They introduced what they called home schools. In a rural district that could not maintain its own schools, the government would obtain land, build a schoolhouse, and bring

in the children from the surrounding area to live at the school for a certain period of time. The children received training in farming, cooking, manual training, and health habits, as well as in reading and writing. This was a good beginning, but much more of this kind of work was badly needed.

Even more serious than illiteracy was the prevailing ill health and high death rate. Indians and Negroes in their original state had been healthy people, but contact with the whites introduced among them new diseases that had a vicious effect. A long period of slavery, with its poor diet and living conditions, also had caused illness. As a result, on top of all their other problems, many of our neighbors were sick people. In 1939 the death rate from tuberculosis in Chile was 276 per 100,000, in Brazil 250, in Venezuela 243, and on down to 55 in Mexico and 47 in Colombia. At that time the death rate from this disease in the United States was 47, the same as in Colombia. Other common causes of death were influenza, malaria, cancer, diphtheria, infantile paralysis, typhoid, and heart disease.

In Bolivia twenty-eight out of one thousand babies died before they were a year old. In Mexico, twenty-four; in Brazil and Chile, fifteen; in Cuba, eight; in the United States, *four*. In this country the age to which a person could normally expect to live was sixty-two years. In the other Americas it ranged from thirty to forty. People were considered *old* at thirty-five! This most vital problem had its roots in lack of education, of adequate food, and of proper medical care. With the increased contacts between the Americas, the prevalence of disease among our neighbors created a serious danger for us as well as them; it challenged the attention of our medical men and charitable societies.

But with all their problems the Latin Americans made music, danced, and obtained pleasure from life in their own way. In fact music was their greatest source of pleasure. In cities and villages in all the countries the young people enjoyed their lively dances on Saturday nights, and regularly the townsmen crowded the plazas for the popular street dances. In addition nearly every special occasion called forth its particular kind of

expression in music. The people danced and sang after a wedding, after the harvest, at the church festival, at the village fair, and when relatives and neighbors assembled at a home for a visit. In many middle- and upper-class homes a special room was equipped with phonograph or radio and reserved for dancing and singing. On such occasions, when relatives and friends gathered for an evening of fun, all joined in the festivities. Those who were not dancing at least sang and clapped with the music.

A few of the more popular folk dances—the rumbas, the tangos, the congas—came to us in a jazzed-up version that we have supposed to be typical “Latin” music. However, there were many other varieties of typical music. The lower classes—the Indians and Negroes—had their own folk songs for all occasions. Some of these fiesta ballads, street songs, dance tunes, and cowboy songs, about love, home, war, big events, nature, or the saints, were accompanied by lively strumming of guitars and beating of drums; others were set to plaintive tunes in which the violin or flute or crude jew’s-harp seemed to cry with the suffering hero or heroine of the ballad. For this music the instruments commonly included, besides the popular guitar, some bamboo trumpets, crude harps, and many kinds of rattles and drums, which were invented by the natives of these lands before the white men came. Needless to say, little of this music is known in the United States, although it is as typical of Latin America as the fandango.

Quite as typical, too, was the music of the city. This included, first, the ever popular band music, played in the parades and in the concerts on the plazas in all the cities. Since Latin Americans liked the rhythm of the march, they were particularly fond of band music. In the upper social circles of the cities chamber music and symphonic concerts were very popular. For a long time European music was in vogue; polite folk assembled in drawing rooms or in opera houses to hear French or Austrian concert music or Italian operas. Recently, however, the audiences have been thrilled by the vigor of a new American music, a combination of classical European influence, of

ancient Indian and Negro themes, and of the spirit of the recent revolutions. In this way music was undergoing a change corresponding to the other phases of the social revolutions in Latin America. The leaders in the new school were the composers Carlos Chávez (1899-) of Mexico and Heitor Villa-Lobos (1881-) of Brazil. The latter energetic individual, besides making his contribution as a composer, directed an elaborate education program in music for the school children of his country.

Art too began to express the vigor and hopes of the new

Here the artist Candido Portinari has depicted in modernistic fashion the festival of St. John's Eve

The Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of the Brazilian government)





Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

The Peruvian novelist **Ciro Alegría**
stands at the right

period. In Mexico, **Diego Rivera** (1886-) and **José Orozco** (1883-) portrayed the spirit of the revolution on their canvases. With rhythmic lines and deep shadows they painted scenes of the revolution and the everyday life of the Indians. The Rivera of Brazil was **Candido Portinari** (1903-). He did for the Negro what Rivera had done for the Indian.

Likewise **Caesáreo Bernaldo de Quirós** (1878-) of Argentina painted vivid, colorful representations of the life of the gaucho. Another development in art grew from the effort to revive old Indian practices. Native handicraft came back. It turned out to be a profitable revival too, for tourists were attracted to the beautiful textiles, pottery, basketry, and silverware.

Literature, like art, was breaking with old traditions and turning to revolutionary themes. Outstanding examples were **Mariano Azuela's** *The Under Dogs* (1916), **Martín Luis Guzmán's** *The Eagle and the Serpent* (1928), and **Gregorio López y Fuentes's** *The Indian* (1935), all vivid fictional stories of the Mexican revolution. In 1940, with the struggle of the Peruvian Indians as his theme, **Ciro Alegría** wrote a prize-winning novel, *Broad and Alien Is the World*.

Other recreational interests have also been influenced by the great changes of recent years. Throughout the centuries the popular sports of Latin America were those of the natives and those imported from Spain and Portugal. The Aztec Indians had a game similar to basketball, and other tribes had their own unique games, many of which have continued to be popular among the people of country and village. The Spaniards brought with them a fondness for games of chance and conflict. They introduced lotteries, which have become legal and very

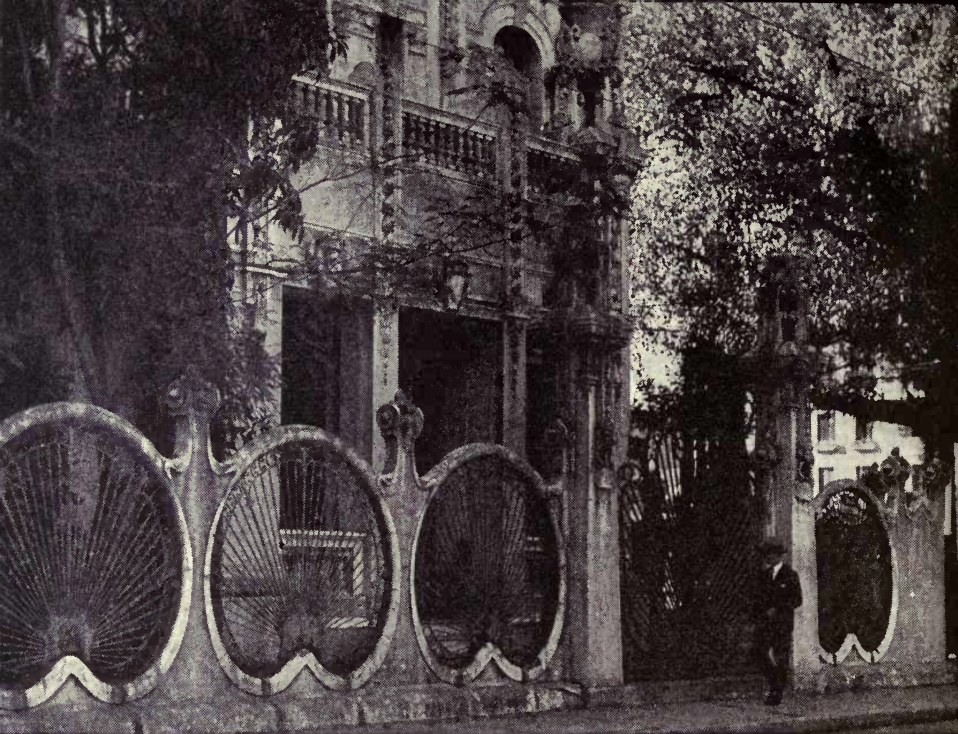
popular in most of the countries. They also introduced cock-fighting and bullfighting, but recently these have been outlawed in most of the nations except in the Caribbean area. Another old sport of European origin is jai-alai, or pelota, a fast ball game played by Cubans and Mexicans.

Recent years have seen the introduction of many modern recreational activities alongside the old Indian and Hispanic sports. The youth of the neighboring lands have turned with great enthusiasm to basketball, baseball, football, tennis, and swimming. For example, in an inter-American tennis tourney at Mexico City in January, 1943, representative players from all parts of the Americas took part. In the final set the Vega brothers of Mexico played against Francisco Segura of Ecuador and William Talbert of the United States.

The motion picture too has become as popular as modern sports. Every town of any size opened a movie house, in which Hollywood films were the favorites. However, many pictures were imported from Europe, and recently the Latin Americans, particularly in Mexico and Argentina, have been producing more and more excellent films of their own.

Amid all these changes the ancient festival, or fiesta, remained a popular institution. There were many kinds of fiestas. Some were native Indian ceremonies to which a Christmas or Easter story had been added. Others were Indian dances poking fun at the pomp and greed of the Spanish conquerors. Others were Negro plays with either an African or an American origin. Others were gay masquerades more like our Mardi Gras in New Orleans. Whatever their nature or wherever they occurred, they attracted crowds from miles around. There were many of them too, in all seasons of the year. For example, one Mexican village had thirty festivals and religious ceremonies each year. Some were simple, lasting only a day; others continued as long as nine days. The great festivals were often the occasion for much fun and drinking as well as religious programs and weird self-expression.

The swift-moving events of recent years wrought few changes in homes and home life. It is true that some city people moved



James Sawders

Some of the old colonial homes in Rio de Janeiro have an old-world splendor that reminds us of an era that has gone

into new California-style bungalows. It is true also that many of them adopted business dress like that in our cities and laid away their fancy, brocaded Spanish or national costumes, to get them out only occasionally, for a wedding or a festival. However, most of the people continued to live in homes like those of their forefathers. As a rule the well-to-do people dwelt in Spanish-type houses, decorated outside with sculpture or iron grillwork, and built around an inside court, or patio, in which they had attractive flower gardens. The mestizos of the poorer sections of the towns commonly lived in flat, plain adobe houses, perhaps whitewashed or painted a pastel shade of pink or yellow or blue. The Indians living in the tropical regions built their shelters of bamboo poles and brush, while those living in the mountains had rough adobe or stone huts with thatched roofs. Among all classes family ties remained strong. Family groups,

which included all the in-laws, were large; often twenty or thirty would assemble under one roof for a dinner, followed by music, gossip, and exchange of ideas. Young people remained in close contact with parents and relatives and thus had the advice of all of them concerning their marriage, work, and other affairs. To Latin Americans it seemed strange, then, that in the United States the young people should move far from home, leaving parents alone and lonely. Our small family groups, as one Mexican observer remarked, seemed to be "growing without roots."

In the cities another old tradition continued to live. That was the culture, the refinement, of the people in the middle and upper classes. They cherished the attainments of their countrymen and of other Latin peoples in literature and art. They were well read; they knew more about the United States than did the average citizen living here. They were proud of the ancient American background of their people. This polite society was truly polite. They showed extreme courtesies to women, older people, and guests. When they wrote a letter they devoted the first paragraph, at least, to complimentary remarks and inquiries about their correspondent. When they called on someone, even on business, they talked about world affairs, science, literature, hobbies, and the like, and might incidentally suggest that they were on a business errand. They wanted it clearly understood that business was secondary to friendship and the exchange of ideas. This devotion to culture was apparent, too, among the university students. Very few of them expected to obtain training for jobs from their higher education; in fact, they considered that an unworthy motive. Instead, those who were fortunate enough to be able to go to a university often did so to obtain prestige and a general cultural background rather than training for a profession they intended to follow.

Both students and adults were very independent individuals. It was difficult for many of them to come into agreement on any one subject for long at a time. College students argued with their professors and "cut" classes whenever they pleased. Seldom did people stand patiently in line to be waited on. Men

were reluctant to co-operate with smooth teamwork in their business or government or social activities. Each individual had his own pet ideas, which he enjoyed defending against all opposition, and he admired other men who were equally independent. This tendency helps explain the preference of Latin Americans for national leaders who were confident, decisive, dramatic, and handsome.

Moreover, the men liked to make speeches, long speeches, on abstract subjects, and they were usually patient in listening to others. They had to be, because few Latin American orators seemed to know when they had come to a good ending. This suggests another trait, their time sense. Probably this was of Indian origin, but whatever its foundation, most Latin Americans had a different feeling about time from that of the hustling Yankee. For the latter, time ended at five o'clock, or on the thirty-first. Everything had to be completed by a certain date or hour. For the Latin American, time went on. It was something to use leisurely in enjoyment of the pleasures and beauties of life. These, then,—the time sense, the refinement, the fiesta, and the music,—were some of the things that were not abruptly changed by the new forces of the modern age.

Latin Americans in the period when we began more fully to discover them were a people of striking contrasts. They were many peoples, not one. There were Indians, Caucasians, Afri-

Oswaldo Guayasamín
is a celebrated Ecuadorian painter

Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs



cans, and various mixtures of the three. They combined the very old and the very new. They were undergoing a remarkable social revolution. Their problems challenged the attention of engineers, doctors, and social scientists. Their primitive peoples were fascinating subjects for students of Indian life and of the effects of modern changes. Their new art and music and literature were something

fresh and original in American life. Their polite society was most charming. Above all, their place in world affairs was growing rapidly more significant.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Have a round-table or panel discussion of what you believe we should do to advance our "Good Neighbor" policy and economic relations with Latin America in view of the trends and conditions studied in this unit.

2. Debate the proposition that Mexico should not have expropriated the foreign-owned oil properties.

3. Since the Mexican revolution started in 1911, why were its goals not reached until after 1930?

4. How does the program of modern Mexico compare with that of our New Deal?

5. How do the changes in the other countries compare with those in Mexico?

6. In which countries was a similar course followed? Which countries pursued a different course? Why?

7. Why do some Latin American countries still have dictators?

8. What do you think of what is sometimes called "democratic dictatorship"?

9. Why were there so many extreme contrasts in Latin America in the recent period?

TO WRITE . 1. Obtain or consult some bulletins of Latin American universities and write a newspaper article on how they compare with ours.

2. Arrange to have correspondence with students in the other republics. (For correspondence bureaus, refer to the Appendix.)

3. Select one of the other American countries that especially interests you and prepare a booklet describing its government, products, and society.

4. Investigate work in other types of industries than those

described in this unit and write a brief description of what the workers do.

5. Prepare a chart with twenty columns for the twenty Latin American nations and enter on it a timetable of recent events.

TO TELL . 1. If possible interview a Latin American about life in his homeland, or interview someone who has traveled in some of those countries. Report to the class.

2. Try to arrange to have an exchange student from Latin America tell the class about his country and his impressions of us.

3. Read further about Cárdenas, or Ávila Camacho, or Batista, or Vargas, or other prominent men, and tell the class what you learn.

4. Make an oral report on the Pan American Highway, or the ejido, or Mexican schools.

TO DO . 1. Have a Latin American fiesta. (See the Appendix for helpful books and materials.)

2. Plan a radio program in which you dramatize the thrilling events of the Mexican revolution.

3. Make an oral report on the Pan American Highway, or the ejido, or Mexican schools.

4. Make a cartoon of the Machine Age coming to Latin America or of a North American who is perplexed in the polite society of the Latin Americans.

5. Make a sketch of men at work in field or shop in the other lands.

TO DEFINE . democracy, social revolution, expropriation, ejido, collective bargaining, social insurance, new immigration, fiesta, home schools

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

DOWNES, SINGER, and BECKER. *Hemisphere Solidarity*, Chaps. III-VII.

PECK. *Pageant*, Section Five.

WILGUS and D'EÇA. *Outline History*, Chaps. XV-XXI.

[Books and Pamphlets]

GREEN, P. L. *Our Latin American Neighbors*. Hastings House, New York.

GUNTHER, JOHN. *Inside Latin America*. Harper & Brothers, New York.

HERRING, HUBERT. *Mexico, the Making of a Nation*. Foreign Policy Association, New York.

INMAN, S. G. *Latin America: Its Place in World Life*. Willett, Chicago.

PECK, A. M. *Young Mexico*. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York.

RAUSHENBUSH, JOAN. *Look at Latin America*. Foreign Policy Association, New York.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES. "The Americas: South and North," *The Survey Graphic*, March, 1941.

NINTH UNIT

GOOD NEIGHBORS

The need for closer, more harmonious relations with Latin America became urgent in the late 1920's. Under Republican presidents this nation took its first steps in that direction. But the new policy was not yet given a popular slogan and a dramatic impulse.

The opportunity to let the world know that a new day had dawned came when the administration changed hands. Then, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, our Latin American policy was announced as the "Good Neighbor" policy. We demonstrated our sincerity by abandoning our "big stick" attitude and entering upon a new period of co-operation. We continued to be a leader in American affairs because of our wealth, size, and material advancement, but we tried also to respect the welfare and point of view of the Latin Americans. In addition we undertook a large-scale program of education designed to acquaint us with our neighbors and them with us. Altogether the Monroe Doctrine was now thoroughly streamlined.

After Pearl Harbor our good-will investment returned large dividends. The nations to the south gave ready co-operation. They broke with the Axis, curbed fifth-column activities, and offered use of their resources in fighting the common enemy. Only Argentina and Chile held back, for reasons arising from their own problems and position. Most of the Caribbean nations declared war on the Axis at once; Mexico and Brazil followed in May and August, 1942, Bolivia in April, 1943, and Colombia in November, 1943. Meanwhile many plans had been advanced for knitting the two continents of the Western

Hemisphere together into a new unity. Some of them were put into effect. The determined nations of the New World waged together their fight for freedom.

STREAMLINING OUR POLICY

The year was 1928. It was a beautiful February day in Havana, Cuba. The bands were playing, and crowds filled the old park at Mars Field. It would no longer be Mars Field, however, for now it was to be renamed Fraternity Plaza. President Calvin Coolidge was there, and the modest American hero Charles Lindbergh. The President of Cuba and his cabinet members were present, and with them were the official delegates from all twenty of the other American republics.

The occasion was the planting of the American Fraternity Tree. It was Cuba's Independence Tree, planted in 1902 in the interior of the island, but now brought to Havana to be replanted and renamed. Army officers in their colorful uniforms stood at attention. The delegates made their speeches. Then each came forward and emptied at the roots of the tree a small box of earth brought from his homeland. President Coolidge said that this occasion gave promise of greater freedom and complete understanding and friendship; yet in a way this demonstration tended to strengthen the hand of the despotic Cuban president, Machado.

The delegates were in Cuba at that time to attend the Sixth Pan American Conference. Previously the United States had withdrawn its marines from the Dominican Republic (1924) and had sent (1927) Dwight Morrow as ambassador to Mexico, where he was strengthening the friendship of that nation. But these gestures were not enough. The delegates at Havana criticized our high protective tariff, our rough-shod treatment of Nicaragua, and our "big stick" interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Little was accomplished at the conference beyond the creation of an Inter-American Commission of Women, but it did bring into open discussion many of the serious problems.



James Sawders

When Dwight Morrow was our ambassador to Mexico
he made his home in the house at the right

Between the wholesome after-effects of such discussion and the ceremony at the Fraternity Tree, this occasion may well be considered the beginning of our present "Good Neighbor" policy.

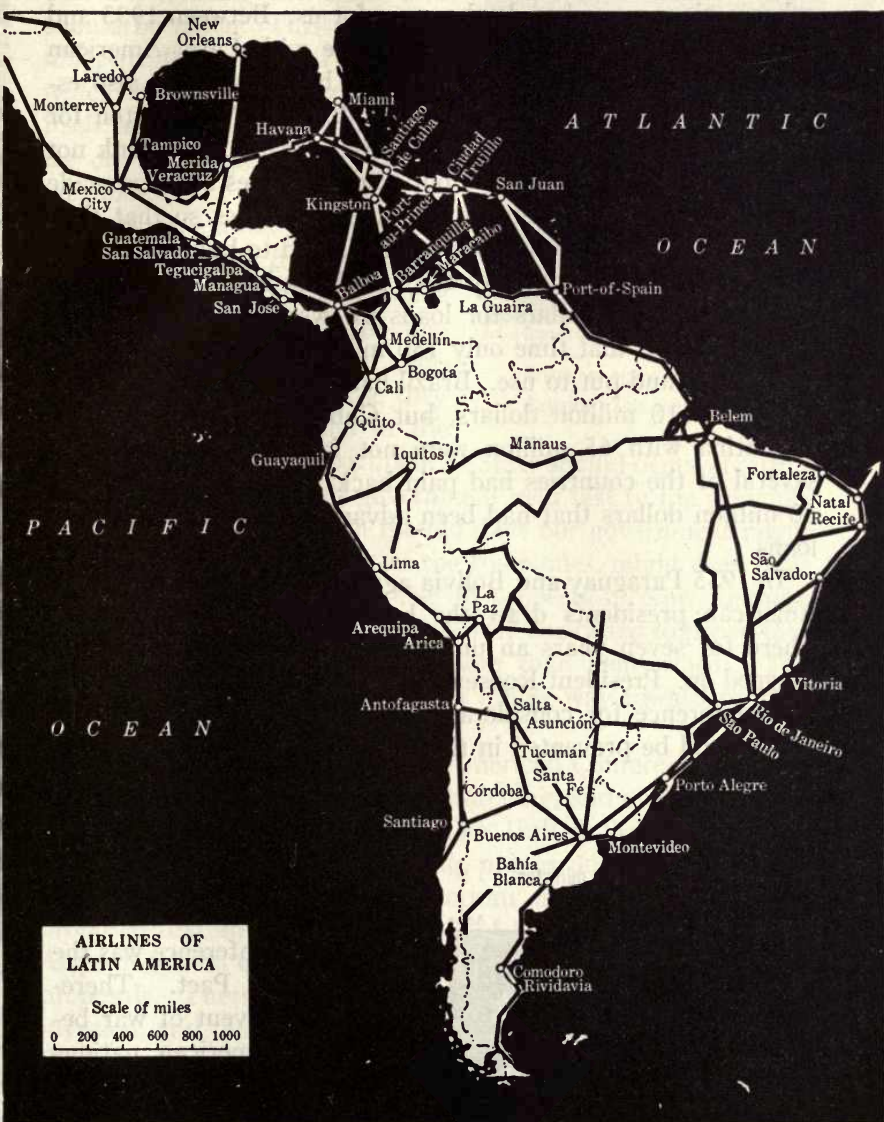
Herbert Hoover, the Republican candidate for the Presidency that year, was disturbed by the reports of dissatisfaction in Latin America. Consequently, as soon as he was elected he went on a good-will tour of eleven of the republics. Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, ordered the publication of an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine written by J. Reuben Clark. The Clark Memorandum was immediately adopted as the policy of our government. It criticized the "big stick" interpretation and implied that we would no longer use

force to collect bad debts. Hoover and Stimson now began to send trained, experienced ministers instead of politicians to most of the American republics. In 1931 our government also worked out a plan for withdrawal of our marines from Haiti and Nicaragua, and two years later they were withdrawn from both countries. In addition we gave up the nonrecognition policy of former President Wilson, except in Central America where it was agreed upon by treaty. Much good came from these forward steps.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt came into office in 1933 the world was in the depths of the worst economic depression it had seen. Everyone in this country and abroad was listening eagerly to hear what he would propose. When, therefore, among his many other statements, he said that in world affairs he "would dedicate this nation to the policy of the Good Neighbor," his words were hailed with satisfaction in Latin America but not yet with full confidence. "Good Neighbor" became the name of our new doctrine.

At that time the President defined his statement only by saying that a good neighbor respects himself and the rights of others in a world of neighbors. The true meaning was revealed step by step in the deeds of the President and the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. Immediately Hull proclaimed that our government was opposed to "interference with the freedom, the sovereignty or other internal affairs of the governments of other nations." At the Seventh Pan American Conference held that year in Montevideo, Hull won the hearts of the Latin Americans. The proposal that *all* American nations agree not to interfere in the affairs of any other American nation was unanimously adopted. In addition the conference established a permanent committee at Washington for peaceful settlement of disputes arising between the various nations. Immediately also our government withdrew the last of the marines from Haiti, and congress repealed the Platt Amendment, by which Cuba had been made our protectorate.

Soon Hull met another criticism of United States policies with his reciprocal tariff program. He proposed treaties with



other nations in which we agreed to allow some of their products to be imported without a high duty, and in exchange the other nations agreed to do the same for us. Between 1933 and 1943 fourteen such treaties were made with Latin American nations. They proved to be mutually beneficial. We also established in 1934 the Export-Import Bank at Washington for the purpose of promoting inter-American trade. The bank not only made credit available to our trading houses but also made loans to the governments of the other countries so that they would have money to buy our products and to build highways, railways, and industries. By 1942 the bank had set aside more than 650 million dollars for loans to twenty of the other republics, but to that time only 150 million dollars had actually been taken and put to use. Brazil had the most generous commitment, 110 million dollars, but Cuba with 78 million and Argentina with 65 million were not far behind. Meanwhile several of the countries had paid back to the bank a total of 80 million dollars that had been advanced in some of the first loans.

In 1935 Paraguay and Bolivia agreed to have a committee of American presidents draw the boundary line in the Chaco, where for seven years an unfortunate, expensive conflict had dragged on. President Roosevelt then decided to call an American conference for consideration of ways by which such disputes could be prevented in the future. This peace conference

met at Buenos Aires in 1936.

By participating in person Roosevelt won many friends for himself and the United States. The chief contribution of the conference was the Consultation Pact. Thereafter in the event of war between the American nations or any international war outside America, the republics of this hemisphere would im-

Secretary Hull
greets the Brazilian foreign minister

Acme



mediately consult with one another concerning the steps that should be taken. This was quite different from the old way, by which each nation decided for itself without regard to the effect its decisions might have on its neighbors.

In 1938, and as if to test the sincerity of our friendly statements, Mexico seized the oil wells owned by Americans. The dispute became critical. The companies claimed that because they could get no satisfaction in the Mexican courts, our Department of State should demand return of the property. But our government held fast to the principle of peaceful arbitration. In the old days our government might have jumped to the support of the companies, might even have sent the marines to protect the oil properties. Now, because times were critical, we had to lean over backward to prove that our new policy was something more than mere words. The peaceful passing of this crisis went a long way toward proving our sincerity.

By the time of the Eighth Pan American Conference at Lima in 1938, the Nazi menace was threatening, and even the Americas began to feel the threat. The United States sought to form a strong bloc of co-operating, prosperous, democratic nations as insurance against European aggression. Colombia proposed that an American League of Nations be formed. But Argentina, with close ties to Europe, threw cold water on these proposals. There was, according to Argentina, no danger of invasion, and that country refused to turn its back on Europe. With tension in the atmosphere and Nazi agents lobbying in the Convention Hall, it appeared that this conference might fail to accomplish anything. Nevertheless, the skill and tact of Secretary Hull of this country and Afranio de Mello Franco



Jules Bucher from Three Lions

There are many Japanese in South America. This one peddles sweets

of Brazil won the day. They did not obtain a strong defense pact, but they did obtain agreement on a Declaration of American Principles. The Declaration of Lima was a new charter for the Americas—a great victory for the cause of peace and co-operation.

Whereas: The need for keeping alive the fundamental principles of relations among nations was never greater than today; and

Each State is interested in the preservation of world order under law, in peace with justice and in the social and economic welfare of mankind,

The Governments of the American Republics

Resolve: To proclaim, support and recommend, once again, the following principles, as essential to the achievement of the aforesaid objectives:

1. The intervention of any State in the internal or external affairs of another is inadmissible.

2. All differences of an international character should be settled by peaceful means.

3. The use of force as an instrument of national or international policy is proscribed.

4. Relations between States should be governed by the precepts of international law.

5. Respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitute the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between the States, and treaties can only be revised by agreement of the contracting parties.

6. Peaceful collaboration between representatives of the various States and the development of intellectual interchange among their peoples is conducive to an understanding by each of the problems of the other as well as of the problems common to all, and makes more readily possible the peaceful adjustment of international controversies.

7. Economic reconstruction contributes to national and international well-being, as well as to peace among nations.

8. International cooperation is a necessary condition to the maintenance of the aforementioned principles.¹

¹"Eighth International Conference of American States," in *International Conciliation*, No. 349, pp. 243-244. Carnegie Endowment, New York, April, 1939.

At the time of the Lima Conference our nation was also undertaking a broad program of cultural and economic co-operation with Latin America. Already the Pan American Union had made many contributions in this field, and a number of independent committees and groups were also working on it. Now the Committee on Cultural Relations was added to our Department of State, and another super-committee was formed to bring into co-operation the experts in various government departments. Two years later various activities bearing on our Latin American relations were brought under one agency, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, directed by Nelson A. Rockefeller. Congress appropriated generous sums for radio programs, publications, motion pictures, exchange of students and professors, collection of information, highway and travel development, inter-American sports, agricultural surveys, and many other similar activities.

By 1938 the meaning of our "Good Neighbor" policy was clear. It meant that we would no longer send the marines to collect debts. It meant that we would no longer keep the Caribbean countries tied to our apron strings. It meant that we would stand by and keep our hands off while our Latin American neighbors were having their social revolutions or were trying in other ways to solve their own problems. It meant that we would promote inter-American trade and peace. It meant that we would try hard to learn more about the culture and achievements of our neighbors and also encourage them to learn more about us. All told, it meant co-operation on an equal footing in many ways, accepting from them whatever seemed superior in their art, literature, and ideals, and that whenever our natural leadership in certain fields was brought into play, it would be so exercised that it would help other American countries to go forward under their own leadership.

Dr. Germán Arciniegas
is a Colombian author and professor

Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs



THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

In September, 1939, the expected happened. Hitler had invaded one small European country after another, and now when he refused to withdraw his butchering army from Poland he provoked war with England and France. Hitler's Axis partner was Mussolini in Italy; practically a partner was Franco in Spain, for Hitler had helped him fight his way into power. In addition Hitler's envoys had pretended friendship with Russia in order to get supplies there. It looked bad for France and England. Certainly this would be a hard fight for the freedom of democratic peoples from the menace of the international gangsters—the totalitarian dictators.

We were one of the democratic nations, but our immediate impulse was to remain neutral and look to our own defenses. Since the lands to the south were vitally important to our defense, we looked there too. We saw that Germany and Italy had been wooing those countries and had made capital of their earlier suspicion toward us. Italy's connecting link was the large Italian population in Argentina and southern Brazil, and Germany's was the Germans in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, as well as the agents operating in many countries. By dominating Spain, Germany now worked through Franco and the Pan Hispanic movement, though under the new name Falange. In addition the Axis powers operated 30,000 miles of airlines in South America against our 18,000, and they maintained missions in many of the countries to help train the armies.

Moreover, German short-wave radio stations were feeding propaganda to the listening public through receiving sets made especially for the purpose and either sold at low prices or given away in South America. The Axis was investing heavily in other kinds of propaganda—the buying of professors, the promotion of essay contests, the organization of Nazi and Fascist schools and military societies. As a result of this propaganda drive and the barter treaties which the Axis had made, Germany and Italy were increasing their trade in Latin America. Soon Germany was supplying about one fourth of the import

needs of Brazil and Chile and about one fifth of the needs of Mexico and Peru.

This barter method, we were discovering, was hard to compete with. Our exporters worked through advertising and individual salesmen, and this overhead increased the cost of our goods. Germany and Italy eliminated that extra expense by acting through government agents, who would trade a year's supply of some product to a Latin American country for whatever that country could supply for the Axis needs. The agents could undersell American businessmen, because the Axis governments would make up any loss they incurred by drawing on profits derived from some other hard bargain. It was a cut-throat competition, and only by the aid of our Export-Import Bank could many of our businessmen hold their Latin American trade.

Most of the Latin American peoples began to line up definitely into two parties, one favoring the United States and the European Allies, the other favoring the Axis. In most nations the pro-United States, pro-democracy party was in control; in some the pro-Axis forces seemed to prevail. Now the countries

President Roosevelt entertains a delegation
of Latin Americans who have attended a conference at Havana

Acme



that had dictators came in for suspicion. Were they really Axis puppets who would show their true colors as soon as Germany and Italy won promising victories in Europe? Especially we weighed carefully the deeds and statements of Vargas in Brazil, Benavides in Peru, and Busch in Bolivia, as well as the attitude of presidents Arias in Panama, Castillo in Argentina, and Aguirre Cerda in Chile.

Questions of grave concern to all came before the foreign ministers of the American republics when they met in Panama in September, 1939, to consult with one another as to the steps to be taken. At the conference the nations set up a committee of twenty-one experts for study of common trade and money problems. In addition all the nations joined in a declaration of neutrality in the European war and created a neutrality zone in American waters. On the west of a line several hundred miles out in the Atlantic the European nations were asked to refrain from waging sea, land, or air battles. Such a request went beyond the old rules of international law and could never be fully enforced, but it was considered worth trying.

At the next consultation meeting, at Havana in July, 1940, Secretary Hull asked the representatives to consider further ways of promoting economic co-operation and to take common steps to combat the "new and evil technique" (propaganda) by which the Axis powers were trying to divide and corrupt American peoples. The delegates responded by adopting new measures for the promotion of trade and by taking steps to curb fifth-column activities.

Shortly after this conference the United States leased from England eight naval and air bases on British territories in America. One was in Newfoundland, four were in the West Indies, and two were on the north coast of South America. In addition we proposed the building of other bases on sites in Brazil and Uruguay and on islands held by Ecuador. Soon Mexico and the United States agreed to co-operate in the use of each other's air and naval bases. Then, when we seized Axis ships tied up in our ports, Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Costa Rica, and Venezuela did likewise. One by one our Latin Amer-



Jules Bucher from Three Lions

Our soldiers, sailors, and marines frequently visit South American ports. Here they are enjoying themselves on the terrace of the Copacabana Palace Hotel at Rio de Janeiro

ican neighbors, except Bolivia, also sent home their Axis military advisers. Eleven of the countries received military and naval missions from the United States. Several also ended Axis control of many of the airlines. By September, 1941, the mileage of Axis-controlled lines had been reduced from thirty to twenty thousand, most of which was in Brazil and Argentina. At the same time the mileage operated in Latin America by the United States had increased from eighteen to thirty-three thousand. To help combat Nazi propaganda our radio stations expanded their short-wave facilities. By the end of 1941 they were on the air a total of fifty-four hours a day with programs in Spanish and Portuguese. More and more radio programs

were also coming from the south to this country, with the result that the peoples of the Americas were beginning to know each other better.

In the economic field, Bolivia agreed to sell us most of its tin for five years following 1941, and Mexico, Central America, Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador co-operated in finding ways to produce rubber. This was important, because Japanese aggression in Asia was threatening our source of supply in the East Indies. Now many loans were made to the other republics to aid in the development of their resources. In addition we finally lifted our ban on Argentina's canned beef in March, 1941, and began buying quantities for our Army and Navy, and in October of that year we signed a reciprocal trade agreement with Argentina reducing duties on eighty-four products coming from that nation in exchange for reduction of their duties on more than one hundred of our products.

These friendly moves helped our relations with Argentina, but that nation still remained aloof for several reasons. The people of Argentina had long been antagonistic because we had refused to import either fresh or canned beef lest it should introduce the foot-and-mouth disease into this country. For some reason the disease does not have a severe effect there, but once it gets started among our cattle it takes a terrific toll. Argentina felt that this was merely an excuse we were using to protect our cattle-growers from competition. This exposed the fundamental problem. Argentina was and is an agricultural nation, producing wheat, meat products, and cotton in competition with our own surpluses in those very things. Before the First World War Argentina had a good market in Europe; in recent years it had lost much of this and was practically dependent on loans and favors from us. However, the people kept in mind that once this Second World War was over they would again be in competition with us in selling surpluses in Europe. Thus they were reluctant to join in any move that would be definitely unfriendly to the Axis. This attitude was strengthened by the presence of a large German and Italian population, and by long trade and social relations with Euro-



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

Travelers to South America
will stop at such attractive airports as this one at Santiago, Chile

pean people. Moreover, Argentina's standing dislike for Brazil tended to cause Argentina to pull away from us as Brazil kept drawing nearer to us.

In Chile some of the same factors were at work. There was a large German colony in the south, and trade and other contacts with Europe had created close ties. Chile and Germany had been friends because, as one Chilean said, "for generations the Germans had been as good to Chile as the United States had suddenly started being of recent years." However, while co-operation in American defense proceeded, Chile became more and more amicable toward the United States. The chief remaining obstacle to closer relations was the inability of Chile

to defend its 2700-mile coast line, and Chileans knew that we were not then in a position to defend it for them. Therefore they exercised great caution; they straddled the fence, we should say.

As the Western world faced its great crisis, several plans were advanced for solution of hemispheric problems.

1. First, cultural exchange was advocated as the basic need. This called for study of the languages, literature, history, and problems of one another, in order to make us all neighbors in spirit as well as in location. The great differences between the countries might in time be leveled off. We would borrow the best in their civilization, and they the best in ours. Then we would also find ways to solve our pressing economic problems. This was a long-range program. Tremendous strides toward its accomplishment were being made; yet the goal still lay far in the future. The war crisis would not wait.

2. Another plan grew from the realization that in our trade relations Latin America had two zones. The countries between the United States and Panama were tropical. Their products were complementary to ours; therefore the greater part of their foreign trade was with us. South of Panama, with some exceptions, the products were not complementary. Those countries could not buy from us unless we bought from them. By this two-zone plan, then, we might either let the zone south of Panama go its own way, as some of our citizens proposed, or we might develop in South America the particular products we needed. Of twenty-four critical defense imports, thirteen either were being supplied to us or could be supplied to some extent by Latin Americans; namely, tin, wool, hides, rubber, antimony, copper, iodine, manganese, nitrates, platinum, chrome, sisal, and aluminum. Of these, tin, aluminum, copper, and rubber were the four most important. We proceeded then to give every encouragement by loans and other means to the production of those badly needed materials. This might bring at least Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil into closer trade relations; and co-operation in other respects usually follows trade. As a



The Museum of Modern Art, New York

This painting of Zapatistas, or the revolutionary followers of Zapata, is the work of José Clemente Orozco

further precaution, Dutch Guiana, rich in bauxite, was occupied by Brazil and the United States to keep the Axis out.

3. The plan just described failed to provide for South America's surpluses. What about the cotton of Argentina and Brazil, the corn, wheat, and beef of Argentina, the nitrates and farm products of Chile, and the oil of Colombia and Venezuela? The world market for many of those products had collapsed. Two suggestions were advanced. We might simply buy up those surpluses for a few years to keep our neighbors from having to choose between selling them to the Axis, if they could, or going bankrupt. Then we could either destroy the surpluses or give them to other American nations. This latter proposal

led to consideration of an idea something like our food-stamp plan by which we distributed our own surplus commodities among the needy in this country. Industrialization was another solution considered for the use of the surpluses. We might lend South American countries money for the building of industries. The industries would employ many people at good wages. This would also call for the building of railroads, highways, and homes. More industries would mean more wages. In this way South America would acquire a prosperous middle class that could consume the surpluses and buy many products that we could supply. As an experiment in this direction we advanced Brazil twenty million dollars to build steel mills, and we brought many young Latin Americans to the United States to learn industrial methods. Clearly, however, this solution of our common problems would take a long time.

4. Another proposal was widely discussed. Why not create an international cartel, or sales agency, that would handle the surpluses for all these nations? Each country would turn over its excess, the cartel would sell abroad what it could, and the returns would be prorated. This was good in that it recognized that America was the food and raw material producer for Europe. We would not cut Europe off from this rich storehouse, but we would prevent Europe from playing the United States off against Argentina, and so on. However, the problem of fair treatment to all our nations by such a cartel was a baffling one. How could we control the production of crops and animals and be sure that the big nations did not "chisel in" on the little ones? These difficulties prevented adoption of the plan.

5. Other proposals related to the problem of differences in the value of monetary units in the American nations. The unit of each Latin American country had its own value in terms of the currency of each other country and of the United States, and to make matters worse the value changed from time to time with changes in the foreign trade and the financial strength of each country. In December, 1943, the various units and their values in terms of one United States dollar were as follows:

COUNTRY	UNIT	NUMBER EQUAL TO ONE DOLLAR	COUNTRY	UNIT	NUMBER EQUAL TO ONE DOLLAR
Argentina	peso	4.00	Honduras	lempira	2.04
Bolivia	boliviano	44.50	Mexico	peso	4.85
Brazil	cruzeiro	19.63	Nicaragua	córdoba	5.00
Chile	peso	31.00	Panama	balboa	1.00
Colombia	peso	1.75	Paraguay	guaraní	3.10
Costa Rica	colón	5.65	Peru	sol	6.50
Cuba	peso	1.00	El Salvador	colón	2.50
Ecuador	sucre	14.10	Uruguay	peso	1.90
Guatemala	quetzal	1.00	Venezuela	bolívar	3.35

Anyone traveling or trading in other American nations had to learn the differences in money, watch for changes in value, and exchange his money for that of the other countries. In the case of Cuba, Guatemala, and Panama this was simplified by an even exchange rate maintained through financial agreements with those countries. There were proposals from time to time that the exchange rate with other countries be likewise stabilized, but the problem was too complex. When all business in Mexico, for example, is transacted in terms of pesos, worth about twenty cents in United States money, a change making the peso worth one dollar would create untold confusion and problems of readjustment within Mexico. For this reason Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, proposed that after the Second World War all nations join in establishing a common international unit, while keeping their own domestic currency systems. The new unit would be called the unitas, worth ten dollars in gold. It would be maintained by the establishment of an international bank, which would compute the value of the unitas in terms of the currencies of the nations of the world. Even with this new common denominator, however, the problem of monetary exchange would still be complicated. Thus this plan would not eliminate fully this hindrance to close inter-American relationship.

While the American nations were building their military and economic defense, the United States was suddenly drawn into the European War. On December 6, 1941, Japan made a sneak raid on Pearl Harbor. Then Japan, Germany, and Italy de-

clared war. Even before the United States could answer, Costa Rica declared war on the Axis. After our declaration, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Panama, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba followed in rapid order. In addition, Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela broke diplomatic relations with the Axis at once. These and other nations seized Axis ships and airlines and expelled German, Italian, and Japanese agents. Middle America supported the United States with enthusiasm. Cuba's Batista expressed the prevailing sentiment when he said that though his country was small, the little that they had they would "cheerfully place on the altar of the liberty of men. . . . Cuba awaits the orders of the leading nation in America—the United States." Most of the South American nations, on the other hand, remained neutral officially but very much aroused nonetheless. In Argentina the Chamber of Deputies set up a "Dies Committee" to investigate Nazi activities in that country. The committee made sensational exposures, but President Castillo ignored them and took care to preserve friendly relations with the Axis.

At the third consultation of the American foreign ministers, at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, the all-absorbing topic was the spread of the war to America. Oswaldo Aranha, capable foreign minister of Brazil, presided, and Ezequiel Padilla, foreign minister of Mexico, made a rousing keynote speech. Sumner Welles, who headed the delegation from the United States, then sought the adoption of a resolution by which all American nations which had not already done so would condemn Axis aggression and break relations with the Axis powers. All agreed in condemning the aggression, but Argentina and Chile refused to break relations. The delegates then proceeded to adopt a war production plan by which many tariff barriers and obstacles to production and trade in the Americas were swept away.

In May, 1942, shortly after the conference at Rio de Janeiro, several Axis U-boat raids on American shipping drew a declaration of war from Mexico. In August, by sinking six Brazilian ships in one week, the U-boats also drew Brazil into the war. These new allies at first could give little military and naval aid,



Grace Line

The spirit of the famous Christ of the Andes seems to brood over the nations in a troubled era

for they had only small armies and navies and meager equipment. Mexico, for instance, had three gunboats, one transport, one hundred airplanes, and an army of seventy thousand soldiers and three hundred thousand reserves. However, the Latin American allies were important because of their moral support, their strategic location, their co-operation in defense, and their ability to supply critical war materials. For example, when war was declared by Brazil that nation had forty thousand men at work in the jungle cutting a road through to the Amazon forest of two hundred million wild rubber trees. At that time they were at a loss to know where they could obtain one hundred thousand buckets needed for gathering the sap from the rubber trees; nevertheless, the government promised to deliver to the United States seventy thousand tons of rubber that year and a hundred thousand in 1943. Early deliveries indicated that the

goal would be reached, yet even that amount was small when compared with the six hundred thousand tons of rubber consumed annually in the United States before the war.

In the summer and fall of 1942 all the peoples of Latin America were striving courageously to meet the crisis facing them. In addition to the problems in foreign relations and in the building of new industries, there was a general rise in the cost of living and a scarcity of many essential articles, due in part to the shortage of ships. The crisis did not affect all alike, however. Brazil and the nations of Middle America were in the war and were feverishly rushing their preparations. They were expanding their armed forces, building war industries, establishing rigid controls in civilian life, raising taxes, practicing blackouts, and co-operating in an antisubmarine patrol. The seven nations of South America that had broken relations with the Axis were officially pledging loyalty to hemisphere solidarity and were demonstrating their sincerity by curbing Axis propaganda, seizing Axis property, and building defense industries. From one of these countries, Peru, the president, Dr. Manuel Prado, came to Washington in May, 1942, to enter into an agreement on ways in which his country could help. He was the first South American president to come to the United States during his term of office.

On the other hand, within each of the South American nations not yet at war there was considerable tugging and pulling between rival political factions. Each president and party in control obtained emergency powers in order to meet the nation's crisis and to curb fifth-column activities, but in some instances these powers were also used to hush up political opponents. Consequently there was an undercurrent of opposition to the policies of the nation, whatever those policies were. Some individuals were still afraid of the United States; some were simply cautious; some had, or formerly had, profitable business relations with the Axis powers; some were of German or Italian ancestry; some were personally or politically at odds with their own governing officials; some were outright pro-Nazi; and many were prompted by a combination of these and other motives.

Especially was the internal conflict extremely grave in Argentina and Chile, where friendly relations with the Axis had not yet been broken in spite of the sinking of some of their ships by U-boats. In Argentina President Ramón Castillo, representative of the aristocratic landowners, was still giving little heed to the many evidences of dangerous Nazi activities, and he was using his emergency powers to censor the newspapers and ban political meetings. When Brazil declared war, a popular, anti-Axis ex-president of Argentina, Agustín Justo, flew to Brazil and offered his services to that country, while a few days later the president, Castillo, went to Bolivia and sought to win over that nation to co-operation with his program of strict neutrality. In Argentina one faction applauded Justo's spectacular deed; the other faction honored Castillo upon his return. However, in March, 1943, Argentina departed a little from its position of strict neutrality by agreeing to manufacture arms for Great Britain and the allied nations. Finally, in June, 1943, a revolt led by army men ousted Castillo from office. The new president, General Pedro Pablo Ramírez, promised prompt restoration of constitutional government and indicated that the Argentine nation would now officially co-operate more closely with the Allied nations. But he did not break relations with the Axis powers until late in January, 1944.

In Chile the Socialist Party, a strong political body, was already demanding a break with the Axis when Sumner Welles of the United States charged that the neutrality of "two South American nations" was providing a place of refuge for dangerous Nazis and a base in this hemisphere from which they could direct their submarine attacks and fifth-column activities. Proud Chileans were stung by these words. Some said, "Not so"; the Socialist leaders said, "It is so." President Juan Antonio Ríos postponed his proposed trip to the United States and reshuffled his cabinet to eliminate a pro-Axis member. Not until after the encouraging Allied invasion of North Africa did Chile break diplomatic ties with the Axis, and then the step was taken with assurances that Chile harbored no ill feeling toward the peoples of the Axis nations. Later, in April, 1943, Chile's neigh-



Acme

Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles
consults with visiting Argentinian businessmen

bor Bolivia became the second nation in South America actually to declare war on the Axis. The declaration was proclaimed while Vice President Henry Wallace of the United States was visiting in Bolivia; and immediately President Enrique Peñaranda repaid the visit by coming to the United States. Near the end of 1943, however, Bolivian army officers and students overthrew Peñaranda, and the attitude of the new government set up at La Paz appeared uncertain. Meantime, in November, 1943, Colombia had declared war against the Axis aggressors.

During the war years the many nations of Latin America were beginning to bury old grudges against each other and to co-operate as they never had before. Much of this co-operation was directed by the joint Inter-American Advisory Committee, but such co-operation also was shown in other ways. Peru and Ecuador ceased fighting over a boundary line that had been disputed for more than a century, and in January, 1942, agreed to accept the advice of outside experts in the drawing of a permanent line. During the following summer the Central American nations worked together to improve their section of the

Pan American Highway, while Mexico and Cuba agreed to use each other's bases for a joint antisubmarine patrol. In addition many of the nations entered into new trade agreements and other co-operative endeavors with neighboring countries. The trade among these nations increased by leaps and bounds. For example, by August, 1942, Argentina's purchases in Brazil had increased a third over all previous figures. This naturally tended to draw closer together the people of those two nations, even though the two governments were not formally allied. The increased dependence on one another was having a similar wholesome effect on the relations between some of the other neighboring nations.

The Americas were thus arrayed in an almost solid front in their fight for freedom. It was evident that the "Good Neighbor" policy had returned big dividends in the co-operation displayed in this hour of crisis. Some few still wondered if the policy would turn out to be a temporary one on our part, an emergency measure designed to get help when we badly needed it. In this emergency were we drawing together countries which by culture and trade and interests did not belong together? After the war would we proceed to forget about this policy and seek our own interests? Surely not, for we had discovered too plainly that their best interests could also be ours.

After the war we might actually talk less about a "Good Neighbor" policy in the Americas, but not merely because the emergency would be passed. Instead, with this policy already well established and its value well demonstrated, it would be the responsibility of the Americas then to draw lessons from our own hard experience in the development of inter-American co-operation for application next in the remainder of the world. All Americans could then join with others in working for conditions that would make it possible for people in all lands to live together happily, healthily, prosperously, and safely as good neighbors.

Activities

TO DISCUSS . 1. Have a round table or panel discussion of what you believe we should all do to advance a wise Latin American policy in wartime.

2. Why did President-elect Hoover go on a tour of Latin America?

3. To what extent does President Franklin D. Roosevelt deserve credit for the "Good Neighbor" policy?

4. Why in the 1930's was a new program desirable in our relations with Latin America?

5. What was the Declaration of Lima?

6. Exactly in what ways was our Monroe Doctrine "streamlined" in the 1920's and 1930's?

7. Why was Axis influence in Latin America hard to combat?

8. Why did Argentina and Chile hold out at the Rio de Janeiro conference?

9. Which of the plans for American unity seems to you the more sound? Why?

10. Judging by our experience in this hemisphere, what will have to be done to establish a "Good Neighbor" policy for the world?

TO WRITE . 1. Prepare a list of the inter-American conferences held after 1928.

2. Make a timetable of the main events in the Americas in our fight for freedom.

3. Write a newspaper article on "The Dividends of the Good-Neighbor Policy," or on "Why Our War Is an All-American War."

TO TELL . 1. Interview a businessman about the effects of the war on our trade with Latin America, and report.

2. From magazine articles learn and tell about Secretary Hull at Montevideo, President Roosevelt at Buenos Aires, Secretary Welles at Rio, or about Cuban, Mexican, Brazilian, or Bolivian war efforts.

TO DO . 1. Scrapbook and current events, as before.

2. Prepare a radio question-and-answer program on the meaning of the "Good Neighbor" policy.

3. As a culminating activity, plan a Pan American program and exhibit, open to school and community.

4. Draw a defense map, locating the neutrality zone, naval and air bases, and strategic materials.

5. Make bar graphs of the competing exports of the several American nations.

6. Draw a cartoon of North and South America rising to the Axis challenge.

TO DEFINE OR IDENTIFY . "Good Neighbor" policy, economic defense, reciprocal trade policy, bloc, cultural relations, totalitarian, propaganda, complementary products, cartel, neutrality, Declaration of Lima, Export-Import Bank, Consultation Pact, Neutrality Zone, Dwight Morrow, Cordell Hull, Nelson Rockefeller, Sumner Welles

TO PRONOUNCE . Prepare a list of the Spanish and Portuguese names of persons and places occurring in this unit. Add the correct pronunciation by consulting the Guide to Pronunciation in the Appendix; then practice the pronunciation of all the words in your list.

TO READ

[Selections]

DOWNES, SINGER, and BECKER. *Hemisphere Solidarity*, Chaps. VIII-XIII.
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APPENDIX



GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

NOTE. Students will find that *ch*, *ll*, and *n* have been placed in the alphabetical order of English instead of in a separate position as in the Spanish alphabet. This has been done because it will make it easier to find words and because some English words are included in the list. The current Brazilian pronunciation is given for Portuguese and Brazilian words.

- Acapulco** (ah-kah-pool'ko)
Aconcagua (ah-kōn-kah'gwah)
adelantado (ah-thay-lahn-tah'tho)
agave (ah-gah'vay)
Aguirre Cerda, Pedro (ah-gheer'ray sair'dah, pay'dro)
Alameda (ah-lah-may'thah)
alcabala (ahl-kah-lah'lah)
Alcántara, Pedro de (ahl-kahng'tuh-ruh, pay'droo dee)
Alegria, Ciro (ah-lay-gree'ah, see'ro)
Alessandri, Arturo (ah-lay-sahn'dree, ahr-too'ro)
Alfaro, Eloy (ahl-fah'ro, ay-lo'ee)
Alfaro, Ricardo (ahl-fah'ro, ree-kahr'dō)
Algonquian (al-gahn'kee-un)
Almagro, Diego (ahl-mah'gro, dee-ay'go)
Almazán, Juan Andreu (ahl-mah-sahn', hwahn ahn-dray'oo)
alpacas (ahl-pah'kahs)
Alvarado, Pedro de (ahl-vah-rah'tho, pay'thrō day)
Amézaga, Juan José (ah-may'sah-gah, hwahn ho-say')
Andrada e Silva, José Bonifacio (ahng-drah'duh ee seel'vuh, zho-zay' bo-nee-fah'syoo)
Antigua (ahn-teeg'wah)
Antofagasta (ahn-tō-fah-gahs'tah)
Anza, Juan Bautista de (ahn'thah, hwahn bow-tees'tah day)
Apristas (ah-prees'tahs)
Aranho, Oswaldo (uh-rah'n'yoo, oz-wahl'doo)
Araucanian (ah-ro-kayn'yun)
Arawak (ah'rah-wahk)
Arequipa (ah-ray-kee'pah)
Argentina (ahr-hayn-tee'nah)
Arias, Harmodio (ah'ree-ahs, ahr-mo'thee-o)
Arica (ah-ree'kah)

Arosemena, Juan Demósthene (ah-ro-say-may'nah, hwahn day-mos'-tay-nace)

Arroyo del Río, Carlos (ahr-ro'yo del ree'o, kahr'lōs)

Artigas, José (ahr-tee'gahs, ho-say')

Asunción (ah-soon-see-ōn')

Atahualpa (ah-tah-wahl'pah)

Athapascan (ath-uh-pass'kun)

audiencia (ow-dee-ayn'sya)

Avellanedo (ah-vay-zhah-nay'tho)

Avenida de Mayo (ah-vay-nee'thah day mah'zho)

Ávila Camacho, Manuel (ah'vee-lah kah-mah'cho, mah-noo-el')

Ayacucho (ah-yah-koo'cho)

Aztec (as-tek')

Azuela, Mariano (ah-sway'lah, mah-ree-ah'no)

Báez, Buenaventura (bah'ace, bway-nah-ven-too'rah)

Bahía Blanca (bah-ee'ah blahn'kah)

Balboa, Vasco Núñez de (bahl-bo'ah, bahs'ko noon'yeth day)

Baldomir, Alfredo (bahl-dō-meer', ahl-fray'tho)

Balmaceda, José (bahl-mah-say'thah, ho-say')

Barranquilla (bahr-rahn-kee'yah)

Barrios, Justo Rufino (bahr'ryos, hoos'tō roo-fee'no)

Batista, Fulgencio (bah-tees'tah, fool-hayn'see-ō)

Battle y Ordóñez, José (bah'zhay ee or-dōn'yes, ho-say')

bauxite (bo'zite)

Belém (buh-layn')

Belgrano, Manuel (bel-grah'no, mah-noo-el')

Bello, Andrés (bay'yo, ahn-drace')

Belo Horizonte (bell'loo o-ree-zong'tee)

Benavides, Oscar (bay-nah-vee'thace, ōs-kahr')

Bio-Bio (bee'o-bee'o)

Blanco Fombona, Rufino (blahn'ko fom-bo'nah, roo-fee'no)

Blest Gana, Alberto (blest gah'nah, ahl-bair'tō)

Bogotá (bo-go-tah')

Bolívar, Simón (bo-lee'vahr, see-mōn')

boliviano (bo-lee-vee-ah'no)

Boyacá (bo-yah-kah')

Boyer, Jean Pierre (bwah-yay', zhahng pyair)

Buenaventura (bway'nah-ven-too'rah)

Buenos Aires (bway'nos ah'ee-race)

Bulnes, Manuel (bool'nace, mah-noo-el')

Busch, Germán (boosh, hair-mahn')

cabildo (kah-veel'dō)
Cabot, Sebastian (ka'but, se-bass'tyun)
Cabral, Pedrálvarez (kuh-brahl', pay-drahl'vah-rez)
Cabrera, Manuel Estrada (kah-bray'rah, mah-noo-el' ays-trah'thah)
cacao (kah-kah'o)
Calderón Guardia, Rafael Ángel (kahl-day-rōn' gwahr'dee-ah, rah-fah-el' ahn'-hail)
Cali (kah'lee)
Callao (kah-yah'o)
Calles, Plutarco Elias (kah'yace, ploo-tahr'ko ay'lee-ahs)
Camagüey (kah-mah-gway')
Carabobo (kah-rañ-vo'vo)
Caracas (kah-rah'kahs)
Cárdenas, Lázaro (kahr'day-nahs, lah'sah-ro)
Caribbean (kair-uh-bee'an)
Carranza, Venustiano (kah-rahn'sah, bay-noos-tee-ah'no)
Carrera, Rafael (kahr-ray'rah, rah-fah-el')
Cartagena (kahr-tah-hay'nah)
Castilla, Ramón (kahs-tee'yah, rah-mōn')
Castillo, Ramón (kahs-tee'zho, rah-mōn')
caudillo (kow-dee'yo)
Cerro de Pasco (sair'ro day pahs'ko)
Chacabuco (chah-kah-boo'ko)
Chapultepec (chah-pool-tay-pek')
Chávez, Carlos (chah'vace, kahr'lōs)
Chibcha (cheeb'chah)
chicle (chee'klay or chee'kul)
Chile (chee'lay)
Chimbarazo (cheem-bah-rah'so)
Chocano, José Santos (cho-kah'no, ho-say' sahn'tos)
Christophe (krees-tōf')
Chquisaca (choo-kee-sah'kah)
Ciudad Trujillo (see-oo-dahth' troo-hee'yo)
Cochabamba (ko-chah-bahm'bah)
Colón (ko-lōn')
Concepción (kōn-sep-see-ōn')
Córdoba (kor'dō-vah)
Coronado, Francisco Vázquez de (kor-o-nah'tho, frahn-thees'ko bahth'-kayth day)
cortes (kor'tace)
Cortés, Hernando (kor-tace', air-nahn'dō)
Córtez, León (kor ta'ce, lay-ōn')

Costa Rica (kōs'tah ree'kah)

criollos (kree-o'yos)

Cristóbal (krees-tō'vahl)

Cruz, Juana Inés de la (krooth, hwah'nah ee-nace' day lah)

cruzeiros (kroo-zay'rooz)

cueca (kway'kah)

Curityba (koo-ree-tee'buh)

Cuyo (koo'yo)

Cuzco (koos'ko)

Darién (dah-ree-ayn')

Darío, Rubén (dah-ree'o, roo-bayn')

Delgado, José Matías (del-gah'tho, ho-say' mah-tee'ahs)

Dessalines, Jean Jacques (des-ah-leen', zhahng zhahk)

Dias, Bartholomeu (dee'uz, bar-too-loo-may'oo)

Dias, Gonçalves (dee'uz, gon-sahl'vuz)

Días, Porfirio (dee'ahs, por-fee'ree-o)

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal (dee'ath del kahs-tee'yo, bair-nahl')

Dominican (dō-min'i-kun)

Duarte, Juan Pablo (doo-ahr'tay, hwahn pahb'lo)

Ecuador (ek-wah-dor')

ejido (ay-hee'tho)

El Dorado (el dō-rah'tho)

El Misti (el mees'tee)

El Prado (el prah'tho)

encomienda (ayn-ko-mee-ayn'dah)

Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso (air-thee'yah ee thoon'yee-gah, ah-lōn'so)

Española (ays-pahn-yo'lah)

falange (fah-lahn'hay or fa-lanj')

finca (feen'kah)

Flores, Juan José (floh'race, hwahn ho-say')

Fonseca (fōn-say'kah)

Fortaleza (for-tuh-lay'zuh)

Francia, José (frah'n'syah, ho-say')

Franciscan (fran-sis'kun)

Fuegian (foo-ay'jee-un)

Gama, Basilio da (gah'müh, buh-zeel'yoo duh)

Garay, Juan de (gah-rah'ee, hwahn day)

García Moreno, Gabriel (gahr-see'ah mo-ray'no gah-bree-el')

Gatún (gah-toon')
 gaucho (gow'chō)
 Gómez, Juan Vicente (go'mace, hwahn bee-sayn'tuh)
 Gonzaga, Thomé Antonio (gon-zah'guh, tō-meh' ahng-tō'nyoo)
 Gran Chaco (grahn chah'ko)
 Guadalajara (gwah-thah-lah-hah'rah)
 Guadalupe (gwah-thah-loo'pay)
 guano (gwah'no)
 Guantánamo (gwahn-tah'nah-mo)
 Guaraní (gwah-rah-nee')
 Guardia, Ricardo Adolfo de la (gwahr'dee-ah, ree-kahr'dō ah-dōl'fo day lah)
 Guardia, Tomás (gwahr'dyah, tō-mahs')
 Guatemala (gwah-tay-mah'lah)
 Guaya (gwah'yah)
 Guayaquil (gwah-yah-keel')
 Guerrero, Vicente (gair-ray'ro, bee-sayn'tay)
 Guiana (ghee-ah'nah)
 Gutiérrez Nájera, Manuel (goot-yair'race nah'hay-rah, mah-noo-el')
 Guzmán, Martín Luis (goos-mahn', mahr-teen' loo'ees)
 Guzmán Blanco, Antonio (goos-mahn' blahn'ko, ahn-tō'nyo)

 hacienda (ah-see-ayn'dah)
 Havana (ah-vah'nah)
 Haya de la Torre, Raúl (ah'yah day lah tor'ray, rah-ool')
 henequén (ay-nay-kayn')
 Héureux, Ulises (oo-roo', oo-lees')
 Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (ee-dhal'go ee kos-tee'yah, mee-ghel')
 Hispanic (iss-pan'ik)
 Holguín (ol-gheen')
 Honduras (ōn-doo'rahs)
 Huerta, Victoriano (oo-air'tah, beek-tō-ree-ah'no)

 Iguala (ee-gwah'lah)
 Iguassú (ee-gwah-soo')
 Iquitos (ee-kee'tos)
 Irala, Domingo (ee-rah'lah, dō-meen'go)
 Irigoyen, Hipólito (ee-ree-go'zhen, ee-po'lee-tō)
 Iroquoian (ir-o-quoy'yun)
 Isaacs, Jorge (ee-sahks', hor'hay)
 Iturbide, Agustín de (ee-toor-bee'thay, ah-goos-teen' day)
 Izta (ees'tah)

jai-alai (hi-ah-ly')
Jalapa (hah-lah'pah)
Jeronomites (je-ron'o-mites)
Jesuit (jeh'zoo-it)
Juárez, Benito (hwah'race, bay-nee'tō)
junta (hoon'tah)
Justo, Agustín (hoos'tō, ah-goos-teen')

kilómetro (kee-lo'may-tro)
Kino, Eusebio (kee'no, ay-oo-say'byo)

La Guaira (lah gwah'ee-rah)
La Paz (lah pahs')
La Plata (lah plah'tah)
La Plaza de la Fraternidad (lah plah'sa day lah frah-tair-nee-dahth')
Laredo (lah-ray'dō)
Las Casas, Bartolomé (lahs kah'sahs, bahr-tō-lo-may')
Leclerc, Victor (le-clairk', veek-tor')
Leguía, Augusto (lay-ghee'ah, ow-goos'tō)
lempira (lem-pee'rah)
León (lay-ōn')
Lerdo, Sebastián (lair'dō, say-vahs-tee-ahn')
Lescot, Élie (les-kō', ay'lee)
Lima (lee'mah)
Limón (lee-mōn')
llama (yah'mah)
llanos (yah'nos)
Lombardo Toledano, Vicente (lōm-bahr'dō tō-lay-dah'no, bee-sayn'tay)
López, Alfonso (lo'pace, ahl-fōn'so)
López, Carlos (lo'pace, kahr'los)
López Contreras, Eleazer (lo'pace kon-tray'rahs, ay-lay-ah-sair')
López y Fuentes, Gregorio (lo'pace ee fwayn'tace, gray-go'ree-o)
L'Ouverture, Toussaint (loo-ver-toor', too-sang')

Macchu Picchu (mahk'choo peek'choo)
Machado, Gerardo (mah-chah'tho, hay-rahr'dō)
machete (mah-chay'tuh)
Madero, Francisco (mah-day'ro, frahn-sees'ko)
Magdalena (mahg-dah-lay'nah)
maguey (mah-gay')
Managua (mah-nah'gwah)
Manaus (muh-nah'ooz)

Manizales (mah-nee-sah'lace)
mantas (mahn'tahs)
Maracaibo (mah-rah-kah'ee-bo)
Marilia (muh-reel'yuh)
Martínez, Maximiliano Hernández (mahr-tee'nace, mahk-see-mee-lee-ah'no air-nahn'dace)
Martínez Guerrero, Ana Rosa de (mahr-tee'nace ghair-ray'ro, ah'nah ro'sah day)
Maximilian (max-i-mil'yun)
Maya (mah'yah)
Medellín (may-thay-yeen')
Medina Angarita, Isaías (may-dee'nah ahn-gah-ree'tah, ee-sah-ee'ahs)
Mello Franco, Afranio de (mel'loo frahn'koo uh-frahn'yoo dee)
Mendoza, Antonio de (mayn-dō'thah, ahn-tō'nyo day)
Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro (may-nayn'deth day ah'vee-lace, pay'thrō)
Mérida (may'ree-thah)
mestizo (mes-tee'so)
Michoacán (mee-cho-ah-kahn')
Miranda, Francisco de (mee-rahn'dah, frahn-thees'ko day)
Miskito (mees-kee'tō)
mita (mee'tah)
Mitre, Bartolomé (mee'tray, bahr-tō-lo-may')
Mixteca (mees-tay'kah)
montaña (mōn-tahn'yah)
Monterrey (mōn-tair-ray')
Montevideo (mōn-tay-vee-day'o)
Montt, Manuel (mōnt, mah-noo-el')
Morazán, Francisco (mo-rah-sahn', frahn-sees'ko)
Morelos, José (mo-ray'los, ho-say')
Moreno, Mariano (mo-ray'no, mah-ree-ah'no)
Morínigo, Higinio (mo-ree'nee-go, ee-hee'nee-o)
mulatos (moo-lah'tōs)
Muskogean (musk-o'jee-un)

Nariño, Antonio (nah-reen'yo, ahn-tō'nyo)
Narváez, Pánfilo de (nahr-vah'ayth, pahn'fee-lo day)
Nervo, Amado (nair'vo, ah-mah'tho)
norteamericanos (nor'tay-ah-may-ree-kah'nos)
Nueva Granada (noo-ay'vah grah-nah'thah)
Núñez, Rafael (noon'yace, rah-fah-el')
Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar (noon'yeth kah-bay'thah day bah'kah, ahl'vahr)

Oaxaca (wah-hah'kah)
Obregón, Alvaro (o-bray-gōn', ahl-vah'ro)
O'Higgins, Bernardo (o-hig'gins, bair-nahr'tho)
Oliveira Lima, Manoel de (o-lee-vay'ruh lee'muh, mah-noo-el' dee)
Oñate, Juan de (ōn-yah'tay, hwahn day)
Orellana, Francisco (o-ray-yah'nah, frahn-thees'ko)
Orinoco (o-ree-no'ko)
Orizaba (o-ree-sah'bah)
Oroya (o-ro'yah)
Orozco, José (o-ros'ko, ho-say')
Ortiz, Roberto (or-tees', ro-bair'tō)
Oruro (o-roo'ro)
Ovando, Nicolás de (o-vahn'dō, nee-ko-lahs' day)

Padilla, Ezequiel (pah-dee'yah, ay-say-kee-el')
padre (pah'thray)
Páez, José Antonio (pah'ace, ho-say' ahn-tō'nyo)
pampas (pahm'pahs)
Paraguay (pah-rah-gwy')
Paraná (pah-rah-nah')
Paseo de la Reforma (pah-say'o day lah ray-for'mah)
Patagonia (pat-uh-go'nyuh)
patio (pah'tyo)
Paulistas (pow-lees'tuz)
Paysandú (pie-zahn-doo')
Pedrarias (pay-drah'ree-ahs)
pelota (pay-lo'tah)
Peñaranda, Enrique (payn-yah-rah'n'dah, ayn-ree'kay)
peninsulares (pay-neen-soo-lah'race)
Peralta, Pedro de (pay-rah'l'tah, pay'thrō day)
Peralta Barnuevo Rocha, Pedro de (pay-rah'l'tah bahr-noo-ay'vo
 ro'chah, pay'thro day)
peso (pay'so)
Pima (pee'mah)
Pineda, Alonso de (pee-nay'thah, ah-lōn'so day)
Pinzón, Vicente Yáñez (peen-thōn', bee-thayn'tay ee-ahn'yeth)
Pizarro, Francisco (pee-thahr'ro, frahn-thees'ko)
Ponce de León, Juan (pōn'thay day lay-ōn', hwahn)
Popo (po'po)
Port-au-Prince (port-o-prance')
Portales, Diego (por-tah'lace, dee-ay'go)
Portinari, Candido (por-tee-nah'ree, kahng-dee'doo)

Porto Alegre (por'too uh-lay'gree)
Potosí (po-to-see')
Prado, Manuel (prah'tho, mah-noo-el')
presidio (pray-seed'yo)
Prieto, Joaquín (pree-ay'tō, ho-ah-keen')
Progreso (pro-gray'so)
Puebla (poo-eb'lah)
Pueblo (poo-eb'lo)
Puerto Bello (poo-air'to bay'yo)
Puerto Rico (poo-air'tō ree'ko)
pulque (pool'kay)
Puno (poo'no)
Puntarena (poon-tah-ray'nah)

quebracho (kay-brah'cho)
Quechua (kay'chwah)
Quesada, Gonzalo Jiménez de (kay-sah'thah, gōn-thah'lo hee-may'neth day)
Quetzalcoatl (ket'sahl-ko'ah-tul)
Quezaltenango (kay-sahl-tay-nahn'go)
quipu (kee'poo)
Quiriguá (kee-ree-gwah')
Quirós, Caesáreo Bernaldo de (kee-rōs', kah-ay-sah'ray-o bair-nahl'dō day)
Quito (kee'tō)

Ramírez, Pedro Pablo (rah-mee'race, pay'dro pahb'lo)
Recife (ruh-see'fuh)
Renaissance (reh'nuh-zahns')
Rio de Janeiro (ree'oo duh juh-nay'roo)
Ríos, Juan Antonio (ree'ōs, hwahn ahn-tō'nee-o)
Rivadavia, Bernardino (ree-vah-dah'vyah, bair-nahr-dee'no)
Rivera, Diego (ree-vay'rah, dee-ay'go)
Rivera, José Fructuoso (ree-vay'rah, ho-say' frook-too-o'so)
Rodó, Enrique (ro-dō', ayn-ree'kay)
Rosario (ro-sah'ree-o)
Rosas, Juan Manuel (ro'sahs, hwahn mah-noo-el')
rotos (ro'tōs)

Salaverry (sahl-ah-vair'ry)
Samaná (sah-mah-nah')
San José (sahn ho-say')

San Juan (sahn hwahn)
San Martín, José de (sahn mahr-teen', ho-say' day)
San Mateo (sahn mah-tay'o)
San Pedro (sahn pay'thro)
San Pedro de Macoris (sahn pay'dro day mah-ko-rees')
San Salvador (sahn sahl-vah-dor')
Santa Ana (sahn-tah'nah)
Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de (sahn-tah'nah, ahn-tō'nyo lo'pace day)
Santa Cruz, Andrés (sahn'tah kroos, ahn-drace')
Santa Fe (sahn'tah fay)
Santa Marta (sahn'tah mahr'tah)
Santana, Pedro (sahn-tah'nah, pay'dro)
Santander, Francisco de Paula (sahn-tahn-dair', frahn-sees'ko day
 pow'lah)
Santiago (sahn-tyah'go)
Santo Domingo (sahn'tō dō-meen'go)
Santos (sahng'tooz)
Santos, Eduardo (sahn'tōs, ay-dwahr'do)
São Paulo (sahng pow'loo)
São Salvador (sahng sahl-vuh-dor')
São Vicente (sahng vee-sayng'tee)
sarape (sah-rah'pay)
Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino (sahr-mee-en'to, dō-meen'go fows-tee'no)
Segura, Francisco (say-goo'rah, frahn-sees'ko)
Serra, Junípero (sair'rah, hoo-nee'pay-ro)
Seville (se-vil')
Shoshonean (sho-sho'nee-un)
Sigüenza y Góngora, Carlos (seeg-wayn'thah ee gōn'go-rah, kahr'los)
Silva Xavier, Joaquin da (seel'vuh zah-vee-air', zho-ah-keeng'duh)
Somoza, Anastacio (so-mo'sah, ah-nah-stah'see-o)
Sosúa (so-soo'ah)
Soto, Hernando de (so'tō, air-nahn'dō day)
Sousa, Martim Affonso de (so'zuh, mahr-teem' uh-fong'soo dee)
Sousa, Thomé de (so'zuh, tō-meh' dee)
sucré (soo'kray)
Sucré, Antonio José de (soo'kray, ahn-tō'nyo ho-say' day)
Sula (soo'lah)

Talará (tah-lah-rah')
Tampico (tahm-pee'ko)
Tapuya (tah-poo'yah)
Tegucigalpa (tay-goo-see-gahl'pah)

Tehuantepec (tay-wahn-tay-pek')
Tenochtitlán (tay-notch'teet-lahn')
Teotihuacán (tay-o-tee-wah-kahn')
Tezcoco (tes-ko'ko)
"Tiradentes" (tee-ruh-daing'tees)
Titicaca (tee-tee-kah'kah)
Toltec (töl-tek')
tortillas (tor-tee'yahs)
Trujillo, Rafael Leonidas (troo-hee'yo, rah-fah-el' lay-ō-nee'dahs)
Tucumán (too-koo-mahn')
Tupac Amarú (too-pahk' ah-mah-roo')
Tupí (too-pee')

Ubico, Jorge (oo-vee'ko, hor'hay)
Uncia (oon'see-ah)
Urquiza, Justo José (oor-kee'sah, hoos'tō ho-say')
Uruguay (oo-roo-gwy')

Valdivia, Pedro de (bahl-dee'vyah, pay'thro day)
Valencia (bah-layn'see-ah)
Valparaíso (bahl-pah-rah-ee'so)
Vargas, Getulio (vahr'guz, juh-tool'yoo)
Vasco da Gama (vahzh'koo duh gah'muh)
Vega (vay'gah)
Venezuela (bay-nah-sway'lah)
Vera Cruz (bay'rah kroos)
vicuñas (bee-koon'yahs)
Villa-Lobos, Heitor (vee'luh-lo'booz, ay-tor')
Villarica (bee-zhah-ree'kah)
Vincent, Stênio (van-sahng', stay-nee-o')

yerba maté (yair'bah mah'tay)
Yucatán (yoo-kah-tahn')

Zapata, Emiliano (sah-pah'tah, ay-mee-lee-ah'no)
Zelaya, José Santos (say-lah'yah, ho-say' sahn'tos)
Zócalo (so'kah-lo)
Zochimilco (so-chee-meel'ko)

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